SCOTO-CELTIC STUDIES
ESSAYS AND PAPERS
BY
ALEX. MACBAIN M,A. F,S.A. SCOT.

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DRUID TEMPLE FROM THE NORTH.

SCOTO-CELTIC STUDIES:

ESSAYS AND PAPERS

BY ALEX. MACBAIN, M.A., F.S.A. SCOT,

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PREFATORY NOTE.

The drawings of Druid Temple, Clava Cairns—north and south, and the northern cairn of Clava are lithographs from original etchings by Mr Smart; and I take this opportunity of thanking him for the immense trouble he undertook to illustrate my paper. The excellence of the work speaks for itself. Mr Smart gave me also valuable assistance and suggestions throughout.

N.B.—The paper on the Study of Celtic Mythology was written several years ago—before any of the rest—and its theory that folk tales spring from decayed myths and metaphors I now hold unsound, as the next paper shows. The attempt (p. 138) to reconcile Anthropology and Max Mullerism I now abandon.

ERRATA AND ADDITIONS.

Page 10, line 26 : Delete comma after Tristram.
,, 17, ,, 19 : Insert "the" at the end.
,, 26, ,, 24 : Read "sacrifices" for "sacrifice."
,, 40, ,, 2 : Read "Celti" for "Celtic."
,, 41, ,, 13 : Read "spent" for "spend."
,, 47, ,, 40 : Read "cubit" for "cubic."
,, 54, ,, 26 : Read "husbandmen" for "-man."
,, 58, ,, 32 : Read "gudīs" for "guidīs," 3d column.
,, 63, ,, 29 : Read "borne" for "born."
,, ,, ,, 31 : Read in second column "berir" for "beir."
,, 74, ,, 19 of text I. : For "ímaíc" read "ímacc."
,, 76, ,, 26 of text II. : Mark with accent æ of "issære."
,, 84, ,, 10 : Read "nolloce" for "nollo-ce."
,, 87, ,, 6 : Read "pre-vocalic" for "pre vocalic."
,, 88, ,, 15 : Read (5) for (4).
,, 91, Article "comded" : Root of "comded" is com and med ;
O. I. commdiu for Old Celtic commediō(t)s. See
Curtius' Etymo., No. 286 (Eng. mode).
,, 92, Article "eclasi" : Read "ecclesiastic" for "eccleeiastic."
,, 93, Article "gondastabrad : Read "gon-das" for "gondas."
,, 95, Article "pet " : My suggested connection with Welsh
peth and Gaelic cuit I since find proved in
Thurneysen's new work, "Keltoromanisches."
,, 96, Article " sliab " : Read N. G. sliabh for sliab.

CLAVA CAIRNS

GROUNDPLAN

SCALE $\frac{1}{100}$ inch to foot.
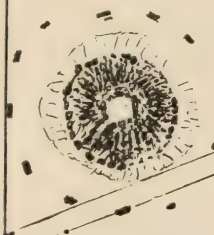
Road

Scale $\frac{1}{30}$ inch to foot.

SECTION THROUGH NORTHERN CAIRN TRANSVERSE TO PASSAGE

SECTION THROUGH MIDDLE CAIRN FROM W.S.W.

THE "DRUID" CIRCLES.

The circles of rude undressed stones found in various parts of the British Isles have been for the last two centuries alike the puzzle and the contention ground of archæologists. At the present time, the theories as to their origin and use are at least as numerous as the individuals who treat of them ; and, in such a chaos of opinions, a rational conclusion is difficult of attainment. Much, however, has been done during the last quarter of a century in clearing up the beliefs and customs of primitive man, and more accurate knowledge has been obtained about modern savages : in fact, a new science has been added to the many other " ologies," this one been called Anthropology—the science of man and civilisation. · Much has also been done in settling the leading points of European ethnology ; for the science of language has been accepted as the basis and main source of study in tracing the affinity of the nations of Europe, and the result is that the leading facts of the ethnology of Europe are known and " fixed." In regard to the British Isles, quite a small revolution has occurred since the publication of Mr Elton's work on the " Origins of English History," where the ethnology of Britain is dealt with in the light of all the modern researches on ancient institutions, history, language, and antiquities—whether human crania or human works of art and use. From all these scientific sources we are enabled to cast a reflective light upon the darkness that shrouds the so-called Druid circles and their builders. The cause of failure in the usual theories is a common one ; *a priori* conceptions are formed as to the builders and the purpose of the circles, and the facts are made unmercifully to square with such ideas. And, further, archæologists are unfortunately too apt in their eager pursuit of relics and remains, to forget the living savage examples, and to ignore the labours of students of savage and barbaric beliefs and customs. They in fact ignore the anthropologist ; and, what is more, they show too often a very irritating ignorance and unappreciation of the facts established by the science of language, which has so revolutionised our conceptions upon European ethnology.

I intend dealing with the question of the Druid circles from an anthropologist point of view, and my argument will run in two main lines, positive and negative. The positive argument will,

after a general description of the characteristics and geographical distribution of stone circles, consider the history and tradition in regard to them, and then inquire if any such or similar structures are set up or used now-a-days anywhere, and, if so, what their purpose is. The negative side of my argument is the most important; here I will endeavour to prove who did *not* build them, and what they were *not* built for, an argument on the lines of elimination, for which I will lay under contribution what modern research—so far as is known to me—has done in unravelling the early history of Europe and of the races that successively were prominent there.

The stone circles consist of undressed stones, more or less pillar-shaped, set on end in the circumference of a circle. That is the only general statement that can be made about them, for they continually differ as to the size, interval, and number of stones in the circle; as to the size or number of circles, concentric or adjacent; and as to the existence of other structural accompaniments, such as outside trenches, cairns or mounds inside, dolmens or menhirs at or near the centre, or avenues of stones leading to them. The size of the stones may vary from two dozen to only one or two feet high; the stones may be closely set together or wide apart—thirty feet apart, as some Inverness-shire circles have them. The diameter may vary from the twelve hundred feet of the great Avebury circle to a few feet, and there may be groups of circles together, or, as in the Inverness-shire circles, the typical examples may consist of three concentric circles, and so on. The structural accompaniments—the dolmens, mounds, and avenues—may appear each alone with them, or together with one or more of the others. And in regard to their geographical distribution, they exist on the continent of Europe, more especially in Scandinavia; they are numerous in Asia—in India, in Tartary, and especially in Arabia; they appear also in North Africa, where fine specimens are found in Algeria and Tripoli; but their most characteristic development is in Britain and Ireland, and in Britain, Scotland possesses the best examples, and again, of the Scotch circles, the Inverness and Inverness-shire ones are undoubtedly the best. The valley of the Nairn is the richest spot in Scotland for such remains.

Let us pass from these general statements to particular facts. The stone circle may exist alone; there are many examples of single stone circles unaccompanied by any other structure or superstructure. Such exist in Africa, India, Arabia, and frequently in the British Isles. These were alone and single
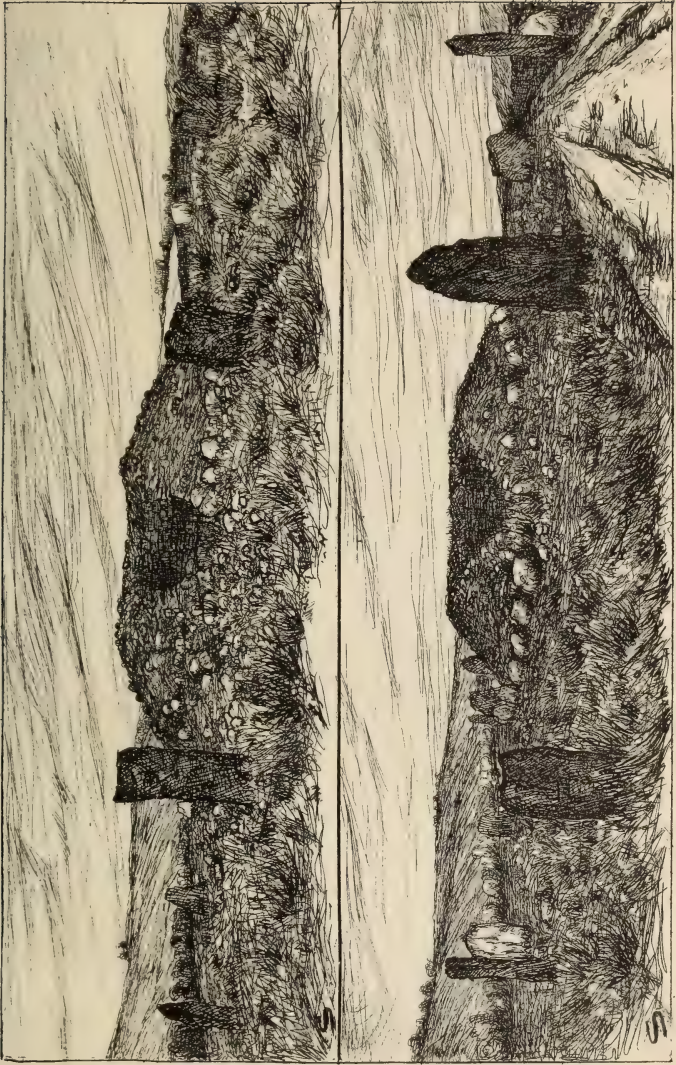
CLAVA CAIRNS—NORTH AND SOUTH.

from the first ; they did not get so through the denudations caused by time. But the general rule is to find with these circles other structural forms. Mr Fergusson, who has written a most able, though prejudiced, work on " Rude Stone Monuments," considers the mound as architecturally the first step in the development of these monuments, and, for the mere explanation of terms, we may accept his order of exposition. The mound would require a row of stones round its base to keep it together ; hence arose the circle of close-fitting stones, which so often accompanies mounds and cairns, and which sometimes also appears alone, though not so often. These mounds may be of earth or stone, and their purpose is, as a rule, for burial, though cairns might have also been raised for the sake of " remembrance," " witness," and boundary marks. The burial mound or barrow may have a cist in it—that is four slabs of stone set in box form, and with another slab super-imposed. These cists were intended to receive the bodies or the urns. The cists when exposed, that is when the earth of the mound is all cleared away, appear as a box of large slabs, with a slab covering it ; and this description, with the addition that the stones are large, or megalithic, is true of a perfect "dolmen" or "cromlech." The dolmen consists of at least two supporting stones and one covering stone, but it usually has side stones as well as end stones. The true dolmens are found unattended by any trace of tumulus, which shows that they were erected independent of any mound or cairn. Nevertheless, the best antiquarians are of opinion that they were intended for burial purposes, and not for altars of worship, as the " Druid " theorists have held. Whether they were a development from the stone cists is, perhaps, an open question. Another feature of certain barrows is the internal chamber. This chamber is generally circular, and built by overlapping the stones at a certain height, and thus gradually narrowing the circle until at last the apex of the chamber can be closed with one slab. The chambered cairns at Clava will illustrate the principle of this construction. Here there is a foundation laid of very large stones—some three feet high, and on this a course or two of stones is laid, not perpendicularly as is more usual, but with a backward inclination. At from four to five feet high the stones begin to overlap all round until, at last, at a height probably of eleven or twelve feet, the circle could be closed by a single stone, thus forming a domed chamber of a dozen feet in diameter and height. Leading to this chamber there may be a passage made of two walls of stone, with slabs across. The foundation-stones of the passage are usually large—megalithic, in

fact. Now, two points are to be noticed here, according to the theory of the architectural development of these structures main-tained by Mr Fergusson: If the cairn or mound is removed, leaving only its megalithic foundations, there remain an interior circle of closely-placed stones, with an "avenue" leading into it. Hence the avenue or alignment of stones may be regarded as a de-velopment of the passage into the chamber of the mound, at least from an architectural point of view. These avenues of stone are common in France, but we have a good specimen of them in Lews, where, at Callernish, we find an avenue of megalithic pillars — stones six or seven feet high on the average, leading to an interior circle of 42 feet diameter. The peculiarity at Callernish is that there branch off from the circle three lines of stones, making, with the avenue, a kind of cruciform groundplan. The great chambered mound at New Grange, in Ireland, is entered by a long passage three feet wide and some six feet high, the sides of which are composed of megalithic pillars covered over with slabs. The chamber has branches running off right and left, and a third in continuation of the passage. The general resemblance of this groundplan to that of Callernish caused Dr Stuart, in his "Sculp-tured Stones of Scotland," to say : " If the cairns at New Grange were removed, the pillars would form another Callernish." But Callernish was never covered with a mound; it was, indeed, threatened to be covered with peat, accreted through countless cen-turies. The avenue is too broad—eight feet broad—and the stones too pointed to be covered with cross slabs, while they stand apart from one another at a distance of some six feet, and not close together, as such a theory would require. Besides, where would the mound material be taken to in such a place? Caller-nish, from these and other considerations, was never even in-tended to be covered with a mound or cairn. These avenues attain their highest development when unattended with any other structures or superstructures in the way of circles or of mounds, as at Carnac, in France. Another accompaniment of the stone circle may be a single standing stone or "menhir," placed either interior or exterior to it. And, lastly, we may mention the existence of a ditch or trench exterior to a circle or to a mound. Such ditches have passages leading across them—a fact which throws some light on the passages of the Clava middle cairn. Specimens of these are to be seen in Derby and Cumberland. To sum up, we find circles connected with mounds, either inside the mound, round its base, or at a distance outside; we find circles con-nected with or surrounding dolmens, whether mound-covered or

CLAVA—NORTHERN CAIRN—INTERIOR OF CHAMBER.

not—some dolmens, as in India, being, indeed, on the top of the mound; we find circles with avenues leading into them, and we find them with menhirs and with trenches. And there may be a combination of two or more of these along with circles. Further, it is amply clear that circles, avenues, dolmens, and menhirs were set up independent of any earth mounds or cairns.

A more particular description of the Inverness-shire stone circles will tend greatly to elucidate the subject, more especially as the circles are so numerous, so well preserved on the whole, and so definite in their character and development. The Inverness and Strathnairn circles have been exhaustively mapped and described by Mr Fraser, C.E., of Inverness, in a paper to the local Field Club, and to him I am in the main indebted for measurements and details. There are altogether twenty-five circles, more or less preserved, within the water-shed of the Nairn, and some twelve or fourteen between that and the River Ness, and extending as far as Loch-Ness. The principal stone circles and remains are at Tordarroch, Gask, Clava, Newton of Petty, Druid Temple, and Dores. The general characteristics of these circles are these: (1) They consist of three concentric rings of undressed boulder or flag stones, fixed on end. (2) The outer ring varies in diameter from 60 the 126 feet—averaging 96 feet, and consists of long stones, from nine to twelve in number, set at nearly regular intervals, the tallest being at the south side, and the size gradually diminishing towards the north side of the circle. (3) The middle ring varies from 22 to 88 feet—average being 53 feet—in diameter, and consists of smaller boulders—few flags being used—set on end close together, with a slight slope towards the centre of the circle, and their best and flattest face outward. The largest stones are here again on the south side, and the smallest on the north. (4) A third and central ring, concentric with the other two, from 12 to 32 feet in diameter—averaging 19 feet—consists of stones or flags set on end close together. Of course the accuracy of the concentricity of the circles cannot be depended on; they are often slightly eccentric. They are built on low-lying or flat ground as a rule, and where stones are abundant. An entrance or "avenue" to the inmost ring can be distinguished in four or five cases only, and its direction varies from s. 5° E. to s. 41° W., the average direction being that of the sun at one o'clock. It is only at Clava, and only in two cases there, that chambers are found constructed on the innermost ring, and bounded by the middle ring. But three others present traces of a cairn of stones having existed between the middle and innermost rings, which we may call ring cairns,

but no sign of an entrance passage ; while two which have an avenue or passage (Croftcroy and Druid Temple) do not present any clear traces of ever having had a cairn—certainly not the Druid Temple circles. As to the process of building them, it would seem as if the outer ring was set up first, and the other two rings thereafter, while any chambered or ring cairn would be built on these as a foundation.

Another interesting series of stone circles exists in Badenoch and Upper Strathspey. The principal circles are at Delfoor, Ballinluig, Aviemore, and Tullochgorm—half-a-dozen altogether. They all partake more or less of the ring cairn type ; there is an outer circle from 70 to 101 feet in diameter ; a middle one from 40 to 62 ; and an inner with a diameter varying from about 12 to 25 feet—average, 20 feet. The outer ring is in every case unfortunately incomplete, but it appears to average ten or eleven stones, the largest of which, some nine feet high, are to the south, and the lowest on the north side. The circle at Grainish, two miles north of Aviemore Station, is typical of the rest, and, indeed, typical of all these ring cairns. This circle has been known for a century or more. "Ossian" Macpherson, and his other namesake, Rev. John Macpherson, speak of it as "Druidic," and in this the historian of Moray, Lachlan Shaw, agrees with them. Dr Arthur Mitchell describes it in the tenth volume of the Society of Antiquaries' Transactions, but gives an inaccurate idea of it in his drawing. The outer ring, 101 feet in average diameter, is represented by two fallen stones—9 and 7 feet long respectively, while five others can be detected by their fragments and the holes in the ground where they stood. The stones themselves, being granite, were, of course, appropriated for building purposes at no very remote date. The second circle is, with the exception of a gap or two, complete. The heaviest stones are to the south, and it is the same with the inmost circle. The middle circle has diameters of 62 and 59 feet, while the inner has a uniform diameter of 25 feet. The cairn has fallen to some extent into the internal open space. The depth of the cairn is about four feet, and that also is the height of the highest stones of the second ring. There is no trace of any passage entering to the interior open space through the ring cairn, any more than there is trace of such in the Inverness circles of the same ring cairn kind at Clava, Culdoich, and Gask. It is, moreover, abundantly clear that this cairn was never much other than it is now ; there never was a chamber erected on the innermost circle, for, were this so, the stones would undoubtedly have still remained, as the place is a long way from cultivated land, and
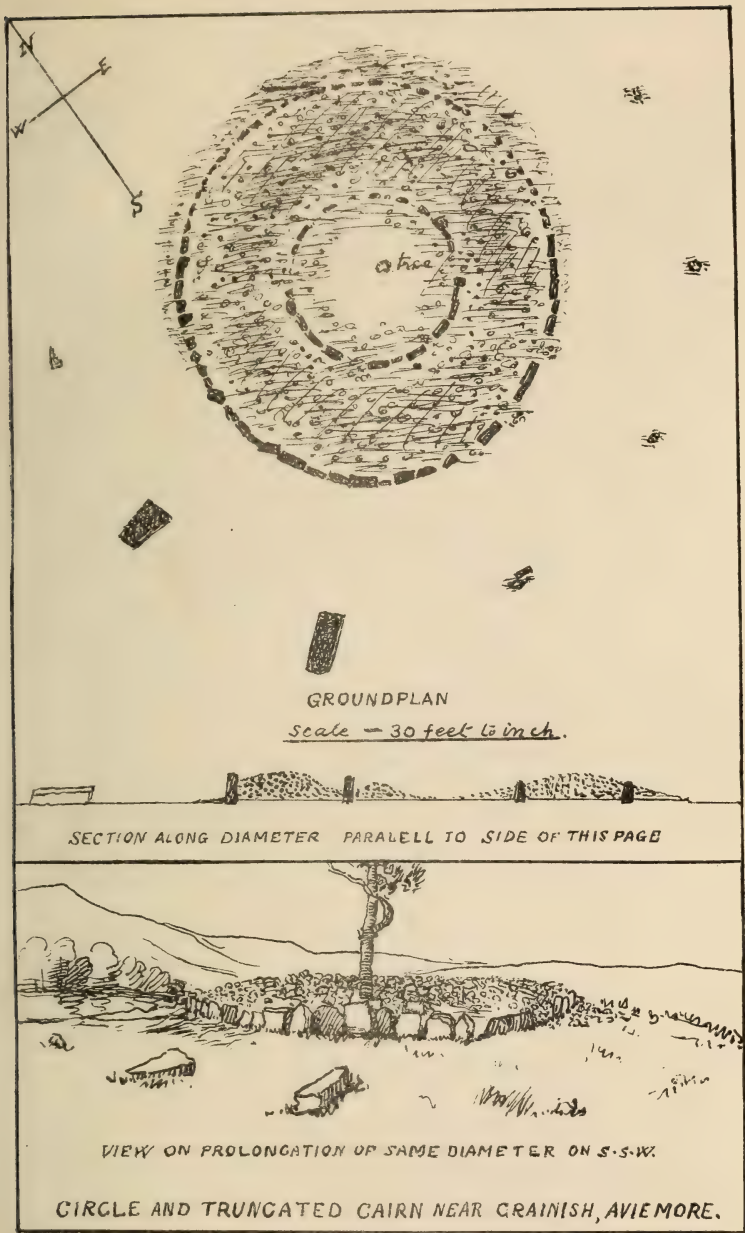
GROUNDPLAN

scale — 30 feet to inch.

SECTION ALONG DIAMETER PARALELL TO SIDE OF THIS PAGE

VIEW ON PROLONGATION OF SAME DIAMETER ON S·S·W.

CIRCLE AND TRUNCATED CAIRN NEAR GRAINISH, AVIEMORE.

from any habitations. Within thirty yards of it, to the south, there is a low barrow, enclosed by a circle of small stones; it is quite round, and 18 feet in diameter. There are several such around here, not far from the circles, all partaking of the same type. Most of them have been disturbed. The Strathspey Gaelic name for these stone circles and cairns is "Na carrachan," which implies a nominative singular "car," evidently from the same root as *cairn*.

The examination and study of these Inverness-shire circles and rude stone monuments raise the most important questions as to the intention and the plan of construction of stone circles. The three concentric circles seem developed, architecturally speaking, from the chambered cairn, encircled at its base, and with another circle at a distance. The next step would seem to have been the ring cairn. Possibly the reason for the ring cairn may consist in the fact that the builders could not, on their bee-hive system, and with the stones they used, as seen in the chambered cairns at Clava, construct chambers on so large a diameter as all the undoubted ring cairns have in their innermost circle, such as those of Clava, Gask, Grainish, and Delfoor, all of which are over 20 feet in diameter. The third step might have been to drop the building of the ring cairn, which would thus leave the three concentric circles, so peculiar in their character, in that they have a middle circle evidently designed for forming an outer ring intended to bound a cairn so as to keep it together. Druid Temple at Leys, Inverness, presents a good example of stone circles evidently not completed by cairn of any kind, and yet having traces of avenue, which so few of them have. It also shows the state of preservation in which the ravages of time and the last century or two of stone-building have left these monuments of a remote antiquity.

In regard to the purpose of building these structures, the answer which the interrogation of them gives to the inquirer depends mainly on his individual theories. The construction of the central and middle circle, I believe, is developed from the chambered cairn, but it is in regard to the outer circle that the real difficulty exists. What is the purpose of it? The chambered cairns are, by most antiquarians, connected with burial, though other theories, as we shall see, are held. In any case, burial deposits and urns were found in the Clava chambered cairns, a fact which connects them somehow with burial. It does not appear that the other circles have been yet scientifically explored; at any rate burial deposits have not been found, except in the

doubtful instances of Druid Temple and Gask. An urn was found in a gravel cutting near the former, and bits of bone have been found in the debris which lies in the interior of the latter.

In Ireland, besides the famous mound of New Grange, with its surrounding circle of monoliths, and the several other mounds on the Boyne, where, according to old Irish history, repose the fairy heroes of Ireland's golden age—the Dagda and his compeers, in whom modern research recognises the old deities of the Gael— besides these there are the "battlefields" of the two Moyturas, the "tower fields" as the name means, which are literally strewn with circles, mounds, and stones. The stone circles here are often alone, and often in connection with the mounds, cairns, and dolmens. It was on these Moytura plains that the fairy heroes overcame their foes of ocean and of land—the Fomorians and the Fir-bolgs ; so Irish history says, and the dates of these events are only some nineteen centuries before our era ! In England, several good specimens of stone circles still remain in the remote districts, such as Cornwall and Cumberland ; they are often single circles unattended by any other structure ; but there is a tend- ency towards their existing in groups, some circles intersecting one another even—such groups as at Botallick in Cornwall, Stanton Drew in Somersetshire, and others. The most famous stone monuments in England, or in these Isles, are those of Stonehenge and Avebury. The remains at Avebury, from the immense size of the outer circle (1200 feet) and its external rampart, its remains of two sets of contiguous circles, each set being formed of two concentric rings of stones, and its two remarkable avenues of stone, each of more than a mile in length, the one winding to the south-east, the other to the south-west — these remains have brought Avebury into rivalry with Stonehenge, with which it contests the honour of having been, as some think, vaguely heard of by the Greeks before the Christian era. Stonehenge, however, though much less in extent—its outer circle is only 100 feet in diameter, which is just about the average of the outer circles of Inverness-shire—is much better preserved and much better known. It differs in various ways from the usual type of circles and their accompaniments, though preserving the general features. In the first place the stones are "dressed " so far as to render them more suitable for contact with, or superimposition of, other stones. Stonehenge is, therefore, not quite a "rude stone monument." This dressing of the stones was connected with another, though less unique, feature of these circles. This is what is known as the trilithons. These are composed of two upright pillar stones set

Scale $\frac{1}{30}$ inch to feet.
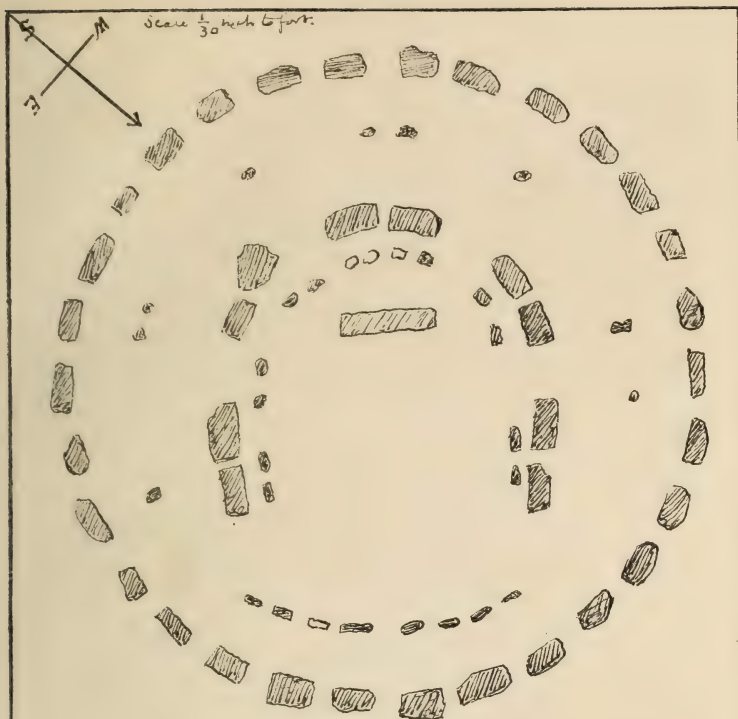
THE GROUNDPLAN — EXISTING STONES REPLACED.
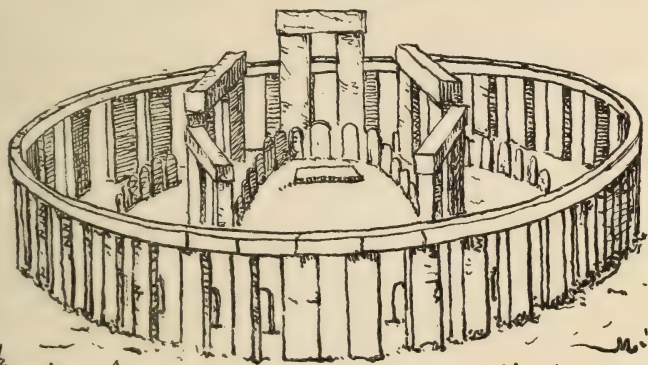
ORIGINAL PLAN RESTORED BY WALTIRE AND OTHERS.

STONEHENGE.

somewhat apart, with another stone passing on the top from the one to the other. The trilithon is common in Asiatic monuments but not in European, and Mr Fergusson is of opinion that, architecturally, it is only an improved dolmen, standing on two legs instead of four. An earthen vallum surrounded the outer circle at a distance from it of 100 feet. The outer circle itself was 100 feet in diameter, and consisted originally of thirty square piers, spaced tolerably equally; but only twenty-six of these can now be identified, in whole or part. They were, evidently, all connected by a continuous stone impost or architrave, of which only six are now in position. Passing over the smaller and more doubtful second circle, we come to the five great trilithons, the plan and position of which are now quite settled. Their height is from 16 to 21 feet high. They form a horse-shoe plan, two pairs on each side, and one pair at the middle of the bend. Inside this inner circle or horse-shoe are ten or eleven stones, more or less *in situ;* they are of igneous rock, such as is not to be found nearer than Cornwall or even Ireland. The highest is over 7 feet, but the others are generally smaller. They seem to go in pairs about 3 feet apart, and may have formed the supports of trilithons. Between the outer circle and the great trilithons there are the remains of another circle of stone, some 5 feet high, and if it was complete—which is doubtful, it would consist of over forty stones, of which only some sixteen remain. Within the inner horse-shoe there is a stone in a recumbent position, called the " Altar " stone, but whether its proper place was here or elsewhere we cannot now say. Excavations inside the Stonehenge circles have led to no satisfactory conclusion, because they were instituted too long ago, first in 1620 ; and, though bones and armour are mentioned, we cannot say whether the bones were human or the armour of iron. Fragments of Roman and British pottery have been found in it; but the best antiquaries are of opinion that the circles belong to the Bronze Age, and to a late period even in it. Bronze Age barrows surround it, belonging, as is shown by the chippings of the igneous stone of the inmost circle, to the same age as the megalithic monument itself. But there are also barrows of older tribes around and near it. " There are indications," says Mr Elton, " that the people of the Bronze Age were the actual constructors of the temple on a site which had previously been selected as a burial-ground for the chieftains of the Neolithic tribes."

The only other stone circles I shall allude to, are those of Palestine and Arabia, and of these I shall speak only of those of

the desert of Sinai, and of the land of Moab. The explorations of the Ordnance Survey in 1869 have made the antiquities of the Sinai region perfectly known to us. Besides the ordinary bee-hive house of the Scotch type, there are also circles "nearly identical in character with those which in England and Scotland are commonly called Druidical Circles." They consist, as a rule, of a single outer ring of large standing stones, from 3 to 4½ feet high, and placed in contact with one another; in some cases there is an inner concentric ring. The outer ring varies in size from 10 to 50 feet in diameter. In the centre of each circle a cist about 4 feet long by 2½ feet wide and deep is found, with its sides composed of four large stones, and the top covered over with a heavy slab, which is generally level with the surface. The corpse was placed in this cist on its left side with the knees bent up to the chin. Over the cist is placed a small cairn, enclosed by a ring of standing stones of smaller size than those in the outer circles. "None of the cists," says Major Palmer, "opened by the Sinai expedition contained anything in addition to the skeleton, except in one instance, when some marine shells and worked flints were found," though other explorers found a lance and arrow-heads of flint in another. In only one case were these circles found associated with the bee-hive houses, and opinions differ as to whether the same race built them both, though they are all agreed that these remains are pre-historic—built by a people antecedent to the Jews, and the rest of the Semites, and long anterior to the Exodus. In regard to the Land of Moab, Canon Tristram, says: "In Moab are three classes of primæval monuments: stone-circles, dolmens, and cairns, each in great abundance in three different parts of the country, but never side by side. The cairns exclusively range in the east, on the spurs of the Arabian desert; the stone circles, south of Callirrhoe; and the dolmens, north of that valley. The fact would seem to indicate three neighbouring tribes, co-existent in the pre-historic period, each with distinct funeral or religious customs. Of course the modern Arab attributes all these dolmens to the Jinns."

What, then, is the origin and history of these stone circles? We may apply to history, to etymology, and to tradition in vain. The historians of the ancient world took practically no notice of them. Cæsar may have stood among the pillared stones of Carnac, watching the fight between his fleet and that of the Veneti, but, as these monuments did not interfere with his martial or political designs, he, as is his wont, makes no reference to them. Diodorus Siculus, quoting from older sources, makes a

wild reference to " an island over against Celtica (Gaul), not less
in size than Sicily, lying under the Polar Bear, and inhabited by the
Hyperboreans, so-called because they lie beyond the blasts of the
north wind . . . . . . Wherefore the worship of Apollo takes
precedence of all others, and from the daily and continuous singing
of his praises, the people are, as it were, his priests. There exists
in the island a magnificent grove (temenos) of Apollo, and a re-
markable temple of round (dome) shape, adorned with many
votive offerings." This very unsatisfactory passage was greedily
seized upon by those that favoured the " Druidic " origin of the
stone circles, but it may be doubted if the island referred to was
Britain at all—for Diodorus knew Britain perfectly well, and
would have likely told us so, if this Hyperborean island was the
same as Britain. And again, no people is more mythical than
these Hyperboreans or dwellers beyond the North wind. The
temple, too, was not merely round ; it was also dome-shaped, like
the Gaulish and British houses. How far does this agree with
Stonehenge ? It is useless to build or prop any theory on such a
passage as this. In the 5th century, and on to the 11th century,
we meet with constant edicts of church councils against worship
and sacrifice upon stones—even the stones themselves were objects
of worship. In 452, the Council of Arles decreed that " if, in any
diocese, any infidel lighted torches or worshipped trees, fountains,
or stones, he should be guilty of sacrilege." Stones, trees, and
fountains form the continual burden of these edicts. This
worship of stones and sacrifices upon them we need not connect
with stone circles, for there is no detail given as to the character
of the worship or the monuments worshipped, or at which worship
took place. It is very probable, however, that the stones referred
to were those on the graves and around the mounds of the dead.
Ancestor worship was strong among Celt and Teuton, and we
know from old Norse literature that the family tumulus or howe
was not merely a place of worship, but also a place of council.
In the Land-nama-bok, we read that at one place " there was a
harrow ('high place') made there, and sacrifices began to be per-
formed there, for they believed that they died into these hills."
The use of these howes as places of meeting, and in villages as
places of festive resort, whereon the May-pole tree might flourish,
will also explain why the stone circles were used, at least on two
historic occasions, in Scotland as places of solemn meeting. In
1349 the Earl of Ross and the Bishop of Aberdeen met at the
standing stones of Rayne, and in 1380, Alexander, " Wolf of
Badenoch," summoned to meet him at Rait, near Kingussie, the

Bishop of Moray, who protested against the proceedings, "standing outside the circle." A remarkable reference to stone idols occurs in a very old Irish manuscript as an incident in the life of St Patrick. When the Saint came to Magh Slécht, the plain of adoration, there he found Cenn or Crom Cruaich, the chief idol of Ireland, covered with gold and silver, and twelve other idols covered with brass. Patrick aimed at it with his crozier, which caused it to "bow" to one side, and the mark of the crozier was still to be seen on it when the pious Middle Age scribe was writing, and the earth also swallowed up the twelve idols as far as their head, and there they were as a proof of the miracle some six centuries later. This story may be merely a mythical explanation of a circle of stones existent at Magh Slécht. The building of Stonehenge is doubtless referred to in Geoffrey of Monmouth, who says that Merlin transferred the stones from Ireland and set up the circles in England as a monument over "the consuls and princes whom the wicked Hengist had treacherously slain," as Scotch legend represents the Cummings to have slain the Mackintoshes or Shaws at the feast. Stonehenge attracted attention after the revival of learning set in with the Reformation. King James I. interested himself in its origin and history, and got plans made of it by his architect, Inigo Jones. Jones ascribed it to the Romans, and immediately another set it down as of Danish origin. Aubrey and Stukeley afterwards started the theory that it was a temple of Druidic worship. Toland clenched this with all the scholarship he could command, and not merely claimed Stonehenge and such like structures as Druidic, but all prehistoric cairns, dolmens, as well as circles and single stones were made places of Druidic worship. And from that time till a generation or two ago, the Druidic theory held almost unquestioned sway.

The foregoing account is all that history can say of the rude stone monuments of Europe; Roman and Greek history know them not—we except the Cyclopean tombs of Mycenæ and their mythic history; and even the references in early Christian times are too vague to be of any satisfactory use; and should we grant the stone monuments mentioned to be the rude stone circles, we could not be sure that the Celts and Teutons of the 5th to the 11th centuries were using them for their primitive purpose. In Asiatic history, these monuments fare no better. Old Jewish history refers several times to altars of rude stones and to stone monuments set up for remembrance of events, and for witness or compact; but, when closely examined, these accounts refer to

little more than a second-hand use of the pre-Jewish monuments, or give merely a popular explanation of the cairns and monuments of some long antecedent race.

Popular tradition and the examination or etymology of the names applied to these rude stone monuments yield even worse results than historical investigation. One thing is to be noted ; popular tradition knows nothing of the Druids in connection with these circles. The nearest approach to the Druidic theory is where in one case the popular myth regards the stones as men transformed by the magic of the Druids. In fact, there is no rational tradition in regard to them. *They belong to a period to which the oldest tradition or history of the present race cannot reach.* For the accounts given of them are mythical, and the names given to them are either of the same mythic type, or are mere general terms signifying cairns, stone monuments, or stone heaps. For example, the famous circles of Stanton Drew are said to have been a bridal party turned into stone ; a circle in Cornwall, which is called Dance Maine, or the dance of stones, is said to represent a party of maidens transformed into stone for dancing on the Sabbath day. We may learn from Giraldus that Stonehenge, or the "hanging stones," was known once as the Giants' Dance. In Brittany the avenues of Carnac are regarded as petrified battalions, and detached menhirs are their commanders, who were so transformed for offering violence to St Cornily. These French groups of stones are variously attributed to the "unknown" gods ; the fairies and the devil get the best share of them, though extinct popular deities, like Gargantua, Rebelais' hero, may be met with. We meet with "Grottoes of the Feys," "Stones of the Feys," "Devil's Chair," "Devil's Quoits," "Staff of Gargantua," and "Gargantua's Quoit." The covered alleys or continuous cromlechs of Drenthe, in Holland, are known as "Giants' Beds"— Hunebeds. In Ireland, the cromlechs or dolmens are known as the "Beds of Diarmat and Granua," or simply "Granua's Beds"— the beds which this pair of lovers made use of in their flight over Ireland when pursued by Fionn. And it is here interesting to note, as so far confirmatory of this worthy myth, that the Arab shepherds of the present day recline on these pre-historic dolmens and watch their sheep on the plains. The tumuli are, of course, fairy mounds ; the Gaelic name is *sithean*, a word derived from *sith*, "fairy," allied to the Norse word *seithr*, "magic charm." Single stones are variously accounted for ; sometimes we meet with names indicative of worship, "Clach aoraidh"—worship stone, and "Clach sleuchda"—genuflection stone. But, as often as not,

the names have merely a reference to stones or stone monuments; as, for instance, already mentioned in the case of Strathspey. The term *clachan*, as applied to church in Scotch Gaelic, has been adduced as proving that the churches are the descendants of the stone circles where Druid worship was held; but it has first to be proved that the stone circles are themselves known as the "clachans." The word in Irish signifies hamlet, causeway, or graveyard, but it is also applied in an archæological sense to the stone-built cells ascribed to the old Christian anchorites, and its Scotch Gaelic meaning of church is perhaps thence derived. How little it helps the "Druid" theory is easy to see.

If history and tradition avail us not, let us see whether any such rude stone monuments are set up or used nowadays. If they are built and used by any savage or barbarous tribe now, then it is more than likely that the pre-historic builders of our stone circles used them for similar purposes. Now we do find that stone circles, if not built now, are at least used now, and that rude stone monuments are still being erected in India. With its 250 millions of inhabitants, India is an epitome of the world; it contains every state of man and every stage of belief—the oldest and the newest, Aryan and non-Aryan. It presents us with nearly every form of religion; ancestor-worship, demon-worship, polytheism, Buddhism, Mohammetanism, and Christianity. It is among the non-Aryan tribes of the highlands of India that we must look for the most ancient forms of worship. In the Dekkan we find rude stone circles set up and still in use. Their use is for purposes of worship; sacrifices are offered at the stones, and the inner faces of the stones are daubed with patches of red paint to denote blood, whereby they are consecrated to the deities. The victims sacrificed are red cocks, and sometimes goats; the blood of the sacrifice is consecrated to the deity invoked, but the flesh is used by the votary himself. It would appear that the number of stones in the circle had some reference to the number of families or individuals worshipping there, and each stone appears to be the image or "fetish" of the particular deity worshipped. These deities are, therefore, all local and special, and as the Brahmins are opposed to the cult they ban it by every means in their power. These Dekkan rude stone monuments are not necessarily circular; the stones may be arranged in lines or even irregularly, so that we cannot deduce much argument from the mere circular form of some of these monuments. We only note their religious purpose. And, again, in the hills of Assam we find rude stone monuments still set up, and probably their use bears more on our present inquiry
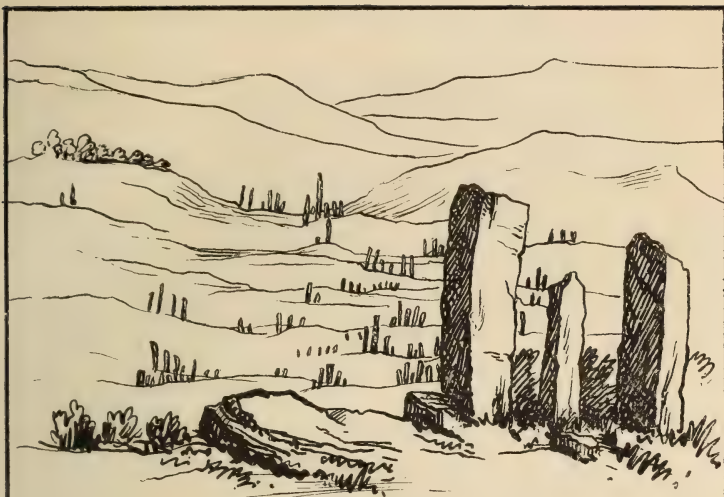
VIEW IN KHASSIA HILLS

IN THE DEKKAN, NEAR ANDLEE

RUDE STONE MONUMENTS OF INDIA

than the circles of Dekkan. Among the Khasias, a barbaric tribe there, the worship of deceased ancestors prevails. They burn their dead and raise to their honour menhirs of stone either singly or in groups, but they do not arrange them in circles. The number of stones must be odd—3, 5, 7, but also 10, if made into two fives. The worship, too, is of a very practical kind. If a Khasian gets into trouble or sickness, he prays to some deceased ancestor or relative, promising to erect a stone in his honour if he helps him—a promise which he faithfully performs, if the departed appears to have helped him. In regard to these Indian rude stone monuments and their bearing on European pre-historic ones, Mr Tylor says : " It appears that the Khasias of north-east India have gone on to modern times setting up such rude pillars as memorials of the dead, so that it may be reasonably guessed that those of Brittany, for instance, had the same purpose. Another kind of rude stone structures well known in Europe are the *cromlechs* (?) or stone circles, formed of upright stones in a ring, such as Stanton Drew, not far from Bristol. There is proof that the stone circles have often to do with burials, for they may sur- round a burial mound or have a dolmen in the middle. But considering how tombs are apt to be temples where the ghost of the buried chief or prophet is worshipped, it is likely that such stone circles should also serve as temples, as in the case of South India at the present time, where cocks are actually sacrificed to the village deity, who is represented by the large stone in the centre of a cromlech (stone circle)." Such is Mr Tylor's theory in regard to these structures, and that is the view of them which I shall endeavour to maintain and prove in this paper, while at the same time I shall further endeavour to make clear what races probably did build them and what races certainly did not.

Having now considered the character of the stone circles, their geographical distribution, their history as it presents itself in ancient authors and documents, their popular names and their mythic history in modern times, and having, lastly, discovered that rude stone monuments, and even stone circles are set up, and still used in India, and that their use there is in connection with religious rites, while, in Khasia, they were connected further with burial to a certain extent, let us briefly review the theories of the learned in regard to their purpose and use. And, first, there comes the Druidic theory, started in the 17th century and still held by antiquaries of repute—men like Colonel Forbes-Leslie, who have done really admirable work. The Druids were the priests of the Celts in Gaul and Britain. They formed, if Cæsar

may be trusted, a very powerful caste, matched only by the nobility; they monopolised the power of judges, soothsayers, medicine-men, priests, educationists, and poets. Besides the ordinary polytheism which they shared with Greece and Rome, the Druids believed in the transmigration of souls and theorised on the universe—its size and laws, and on the power and majesty of the gods. Their position in Cæsar's Gaul looks like an antici- pation of the Middle Age ecclesiastics. We just know enough of these Druids to wish that we knew much more, but not enough to build much of a superstructure of religion and philosophy upon. Nevertheless, the meagre details that are left us so fired the imagination of some modern writers that a system of "Druidism" was attributed to the Celts, which in religious experience and philosophic breadth could rival any in the modern world, and far surpass any religion of antiquity. The Druids officiated not merely in temples but in groves; this we gather from the classical authors. Groves are retired spots, wood-surrounded, where no stones were necessary at all; but what of the temples? Now the Greek and Roman writers do not describe any Celtic or Druidic temple, as far as I know; the inference from this might be that the Celtic temples were like the Roman temples, or more probably like the Celtic houses—"great houses," as Strabo says, "dome-shaped, con- structed of planks and wicker, with a heavy thatched roof." The houses were wooden, except in the Gaulish towns, and so would the temples be in rural districts and in Britain, which was in a more primitive state than Gaul in respect to towns. The Druidic argument may be put in this form— We are not told what kind of temples the Celts and their Druids had; therefore the Druids worshipped in the stone circles. Or the matter may be put in this way—We know but little of the Druids, and we know nothing of the circles; therefore the Druids worshipped in the stone circles. But why should they worship in stone *circles?* Well, the answer is this, as given by the Druidic theorists: It is the solar circle— these circles have a solar reference; the sun was worshipped in them. Others think these avenues and circles are signs of a worship of snakes and dragons, and the whole system of Baal- worship and such like was transplanted from Phenicia and Egypt into Gaul, and more especially into Britain. Besides the fact that the Druidic argument proceeds on vicious logical premises, I will later on prove that Celtic priests could have nothing to do with the building of rude stone circles. And if we look abroad at the circles of India, Algeria, and Arabia, did the Druids also build them? The Sinai circles, we saw, were extremely like the

Scotch circles; were there Celtic Druids in Sinai to erect them?
The theory that the circles were temples of Druidic worship fails
therefore on two grounds: first, there is no evidence for it that
can stand the test of scientific or logical investigation; secondly,
there is much positive evidence against it—the state of culture
of the Celts and the common connection of the circles with
sepulture, for example.

The theory that finds most favour at the present day is
that which connects the circles with the burial of the dead. The
circles surrounded places of sepulture. We saw that the
circles of Sinai were undoubtedly in connection with sepulture, and in
regard to the circles in the British Islands, Mr Fergusson says:
" Out of 200 circles which are found in these islands, at least one-
half, on being dug out, have yielded sepulchral deposits. One-
half are still untouched by the excavator, and the remainder,
which have not yielded their secret, are mostly the larger circles."
He thinks it cannot be denied that circles up to 100 feet diameter
are sepulchral, and if so, why should not the rest above that limit
be so also? Mr Fergusson's estimate of the number of circles in
British Isles is far short of the truth; there are over 200 circles
in Scotland alone. This greatly weakens his argument on the
proportion of sepulchral and non-sepulchral circles. Besides, it
cannot be said that circles unaccompanied by any mound, cairns,
or dolmens have often yielded sepulchral remains. Yet with all
these deductions, there is a good deal of truth in the statement
that circles are connected with burial deposits, although the
proportion of actually found deposits is by no means one-half nor
anyways near it. Now, supposing that we grant that these circles
have always or nearly always surrounded burial deposits, there
comes the question, still unanswered, what is the object of a circle
of stones *set at intervals* round a burial? Why should the *circular*
form have been adopted? And these questions the burial theory
cannot answer without further assumption, and it is in regard to
these assumptions that the best theorists differ.

Mr Fergusson's answer to these questions is, of all the
defenders of the "burial" theory, the most satisfactory. His
opinion as to the architectural development of the mound enclos-
ing a body, into a mound enclosing a cist, then into a mound en-
closing a chamber and having an outer circle of closely-set stones
to keep it together, has already been explained. The bare found-
ations of such a chambered mound would give two circles of
stones, closely set together. It is further probable that the
megalithic foundation was first laid down; it appears, indeed, to

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have been the custom in Homeric times first to mark out the site
of the tomb in somewhat of a circular or oval form and then
place stones round the outline ; and, if that were so, may it not
have dawned upon the builders, so Mr Fergusson suggests, what a
pity it was to hide away such handsome structures under a mound
of earth or cairn of stone ?   Added to this may be taken the
circumstance that some unfinished mounds must have existed,
which would still further suggest the idea of leaving the mere
foundation of stones bare without any mound superimposed.   Mr
Fergusson amply proves, in opposition to those theorists who
hold that all these structures, especially dolmens, were once
covered by mounds which the progress of agriculture and building
removed, that such could not have been the case with most of
them.   An examination of our Inverness-shire circles would show
that many of them, such as Druid Temple, were never anything
but three concentric circles, and never had a trace of mound or
cairn.   Callernish is a standing disproof of this theory, that circles
and avenues are merely dismantled chambered cairns ; they may
have been uncompleted cairns, that is, cairns whose foundations
were laid, but they certainly were never covered by stone or earth.
Mr Wakeman, the eminent Irish archæologist, points out that not
only were dolmens and circles built bare—without superstructure—
but that, instead of the progress of time and cultivation denuding
them, they have actually in many cases been covered with moss
to a depth which, from the well-known rate of growth of peat,
makes them at least some four thousand years old.   Mr Wake-
man also says : " From the stone cist composed of four flag-
stones set on edge and covered by a fifth, to the spacious chambers
found within gigantic cairns like those of Newgrange and Dowth,
through all peculiarities of size and structural complication, we
have for foundation simply the cromleac (dolmen) idea"   On
Mr Fergusson's development theory we can account for two con-
centric circles *of closely set stones* ; the megalithic foundation was
made to do duty for the mound ; we can also, by this theory,
account for their circular shape, for a mound must be circular,
and so must the bee-hive chambers be also ; but, with all
this granted, how are we to account for the outer circle,
which is built round the tumulus or cairn, and at a distance
from it ?   Clearly, the theory of architectural development
fails here, and Mr Fergusson manfully admits that it does.
He suggests, with caution, a possible resemblance in origin
between them and the rails of the Indian Buddhists—these rails
being composed of rows of tall stone pillars set at intervals around

the Buddhist dagoba. But as he says of these Buddhist rails: "It is difficult to see what these stone pillars or posts were originally intended for," and suggests that it was for the hanging of garlands, he does not help us much to an explanation by this analogy. His other suggestion that these stones, set at intervals, formed part of the outer earthern rampart that surrounded the mounds at first, and afterwards were retained on the disuse of the vallum of earth, does not look so very happy as the rest of his development theory, though it may fit in with the evolution of the inner circles from chambered mounds.

In refutation of any theory that would maintain that between these stones might have been built any earthern or wooden barrier, of which the stones would form the leading supports, we may adduce the fact that in the Inverness-shire circles the stones on the south are very tall, while those on the north side are very small, so small at times as to render such a use altogether impracticable. On all theories in regard to the use of stone circles in connection with burials, Canon Greenwell, in his epoch-making book on "British Barrows," says: "It has been suggested by some that the enclosing circles were merely made to support the mound at its base. It is only necessary to remark, in refutation of this surmise, that the circle is often within the mound, is sometimes a trench, and is, as before mentioned, nearly always incomplete. Others have, and with more reason, supposed them to be marks of *taboo*, a fence to preserve the habitation of the dead from desecration, but the fact that so many are within, and must always have been concealed, by the barrow, appears to me to be inconsistent with this explanation. I think it more probable, if the notion of a fence is to be entertained, that they were intended to prevent the exit of the spirit of those buried within, rather than to guard against disturbance from without. A dread of injury by the spirits of the dead has been very commonly felt by many savage and semi-civilised peoples; nor, indeed, is such fear unknown in our own times, and even amongst ourselves; and it may well be that, by means of this symbolic figure, it was thought this danger might be averted, and the dead kept safe within the tomb." And we may add to the testimony of Canon Greenwell, that of Mr Llewellyn Jewitt. In his work on "Grave-mounds," he distinguishes between the smaller circles which surround, or at one time surrounded grave-mounds, and the larger circles, which were probably, he thinks, for totally different purposes from the grave-mounds.

Another theory as to the purpose of these stone structures has attained some prominence lately. It is maintained that these

circles are the foundations of the houses of the ancient inhabitants, and that the chambered cairns, like those of Clava, formed one class of dwelling-houses, while the outer circle may have been a wall of defence. But the houses built on these circles were, according to this theory, as a rule, brochs. Now, there are many remains of these brochs in Scotland, some of them fairly entire. Their construction is somewhat complex. The broch consists of a hollow circular tower, about 60 feet in diameter, and 50 feet high; its wall may be about 15 feet thick; and about 8 feet from the ground the wall is divided by a space of 2 to 3 feet into an outer and inner shell, and this space is divided vertically into a series of galleries by slabs run across all round the tower. Access is obtained by a single outside door into the interior, and thence by stairs up into the galleries. There may be a series of ground chambers in the wall at its base. Miss Maclagan, in her book on "Hill Forts," maintains that Stonehenge is practically the base of a broch; the two outer circles form the foundation of the outer wall, while the two inner circles form the base of the inner wall—the great trilithons were merely doorposts and lintels. The theory is ingenious; the brochs, if stripped to their megalithic foundations, would present an outer and inner ring, while the chambers at the base, if we assume these carried all round, would give two intermediate circles. But where is the stone material gone to in nearly every case? It must be assumed here again, as in the "burial" theory, that the material has been all removed, or that only megalithic foundations were laid, and the work left incomplete. Then there are several practical objections; these megalithic pillars are unsuited for foundation stones as they stand, and there is no trace of the outer circles having ever been anything else than they are now; nor is it easy to see what practical use they could be put to in building or fencing. Burial deposits have been found in the chambered cairns, and within the circles, and this does not accord with their having been dwelling-houses. Miss Maclagan, however, has the usual argument in such cases—*argumentum ad ignorantiam*. The burials "belonged probably to a comparatively recent date, and not to the original purpose of the structure." This has often undoubtedly happened, and we may quote one interesting case in the Sinai Desert—"In a great many cases," says Major Palmer, "the stone houses [of bee-hive form] have been converted into tombs by some later race, who, for this purpose, closed the doorways and removed the roof-stones, laying the corpses at full length on flat stones inside, heads to the west, and

then covering them with earth and finally with stones, until the interior was filled up." And it may be further pointed out that probably the sepulchral chamber is but an imitation of the habitations of the living at the time. The chambered cairns at Clava may well have been copies of the dwellings of that day, but the badness of the masonry of the interior of the chamber forbids us thinking that they could have been used for the tear and wear of every day life as dwelling-houses. "There certainly is a great resemblance," says Canon Greenwell, "between some of these receptacles for the dead, especially in Scandinavia, and the places of abode of the Eskimo and other Arctic residents."

Let us now consider a negative argument : What races in early Europe could not have been the builders ? Linguistic science has quite clarified our views as to the main features of European ethnology. We can prove from the languages of Europe the racial connection of the European nations as far as language is concerned, and that means a good deal more, for community of origin as regards language is followed by the same in regard to religion and institutions—political and social. A common language will not, of course, prove that nations are all descended from the same racial stock, for a superior race may impose upon a weaker or less civilised one its own language with consequent religion and customs. Language, therefore, is a test more of culture than of racial descent. Some four thousand years ago, more or less, a race now called the Aryan began in separate bands, to impose upon the previous inhabitants its rule and its language, and the consequence has been that at the present time Europe is possessed by Aryan-speaking peoples, with the exception of unimportant remnants like the Basques and Finns, or late intruders like the Turks. The nations that existed before the Aryan supremacy were doubtless amalgamated, and their influence must be felt in national and tribal differences of physique, in the vocabulary and idiom of the present Aryan languages, and in the religious beliefs and the customs of the present races. May not also the monuments of their hands, built for their habitation, their religion, or their dead, still exist among us ? We shall see. The Ayran race had attained a certain high stage of culture. The state was founded on a patriarchal basis, and there were kings, and the family was the unit and starting point of the organisation ; monogamy was the rule ; agriculture was known ; they had towns and roads ; metals were used, including the precious ones, and the more useful, such as copper, tin, and bronze, and, in overunning Europe, they had iron ; their religion was

polytheistic—the worship of the higher objects of nature under anthropomorphic form, with a strong admixture of ancestor-worship and other lower forms. Of the Aryan races, the Celts made their appearance in the West first, at the dawn of history occupying Northern Italy, the Upper Danube, Switzerland, France and the Low Countries, most of Spain, and all Britain and Ireland. The state of culture of the Celts we can discover by their Aryan descent to a great extent, but as they became modified through disseverance from the rest, and through mingling with the pre-Celtic peoples, we require to study every scrap of historical reference we get, and also the inscriptions and other monuments that remain to us of their ancient life; while we have also to study their language, their customs, their oldest literary efforts, and their mythic tales, legends, and histories. The study of all these, steadied by a reference to the customs and developments of races nearly akin, like those of Rome and Greece, enables us to read the "weather-worn" history of the Celts, and to know their state of culture. Cæsar and the other classical writers did not perceive their kinship with the Celts; unless when for political reasons the Senate might call the Ædui "brothers and kinsmen," yet in their descriptions they take some four-fifths of the facts of their life, their habits, and their institutions, for granted as being much the same as existed in Italy and in Rome. Only the oddities, differences, and signs, of "barbarianism" were noted; the points of coincidence were passed over as nothing to be wondered at, though these were generally the most wonderful facts of all. The Celtic race was in Cæsar's time in about as high a state of civilisation as the Romans were about the time of the Punic war a century and a half previous. They possessed a language of equal, perhaps superior, power to that of Rome; they had political systems of the Grecian type before the supremacy of Athens; and they must have had an enormous oral, and, possibly, written literature. In Gaul they built towns of the Roman type, with stone houses, temples, and such like; but rural Gaul and Britain contented themselves with wooden houses and wooden fortifications—stockaded clearings or strong hill positions. They seem to have done little in stone buildings. They built temples; but they *were* temples and not stone circles, which are not mentioned at all. Their temples could not have been much different in construction from those of the Greeks and Italians, otherwise mention would be made of the fact. The temples were of wood, like the houses, and, like the Northumbrian temple of Coifi, which was built like a house. The Greek writers use two words in their description of

Celtic places of worship : these are *temple* and *grove* (temenos), or consecrated allotment. The Celts buried their dead like the other Aryan nations ; they burnt the bodies, like the Greeks of Homeric times, and built the tumulus over the ashes, though it is just as likely that the common people buried by inhumation as in Greece and Rome. The tumuli, also, were erected only over chiefs and great men, as among the pre-historic and contemporary tribes. The Homeric burial existed, according to Roman and Greek writers, in Gaul. Homer represents Achilles as placing the fat of many sheep and oxen, whose carcases were heaped round the pyre, about the body of Patroclus, from head to foot. He set vessels with honey and oil slanting towards the bier, and then threw horses, pet dogs, and captive Trojans, after slaying them, on the pile, to be burnt along with the body of his friend. Celtic burial tumuli are not easy to identify. Burials of the pre-Roman and pre-Christian period of Celtic occupation are very few indeed, and in archæological works are continually confused as " Anglo-Saxon," being, indeed, of a similar type. Like their houses and temples, they were of no lasting character. One thing is clear : they had no rude stone circles around them.

The Celts made use of iron ever since they appear in history. It is not likely on *a priori* grounds that they would build *rude* stone circles for worship or even for burial, nor can it be understood from their religious beliefs what use they could make of *circles* of rude stone. The Druids again were merely the Celtic priests—a priesthood of more than ordinary influence and power, but their doctrines contained little else than was believed in then by other Aryan races in Europe or Asia. It is sheer improbability that they could have worshiped in stone circles.

If the Celts did not build these rude stone monum ents, then some race previous to them, and in a more barbaric state of culture, must have been the builders. Various facts go to show that there existed previous to the Celts another people or rather other peoples. Professor Rhys has proved from the evidence of language and mythology that there was a previous race ; while Mr Elton, founding on a study of customs and on the researches of archæologists, has still further proved the fact. Following Canon Greenwell and Dr Thurnam, and extending the significance of their conclusions, Mr Elton is able to prove that two races at least existed previous to the Celtic race. There was, first, the small dark-skinned, long-headed race of the Neolithic and later cave age, whom Mr Elton calls Iberians, whose descendants survived in Siluria of Wales, in Ireland, and in Aquitania, and

who spoke a language probably like the Basque. They were the builders of the *oval* barrows. The second race was tall, rough-featured, strong-limbed, round-headed, and fair-haired, and Mr Elton calls them Finnish or Ugrian. They appear to have been in their Bronze Age, whereas the Iberians were in their Stone Age. The Finnish race may have had an alphabet, if we can attribute to them the numerous unreadable inscriptions—rock-carvings and sketchings of the Bronze Age—which appear in Ireland, Scotland, and Scandinavia. They appear to have subdued the previous race. They built the *round* barrows, and we have every reason to believe that they were also the builders of the rude stone *circles*, their crowning effort being the temple (?) of Stonehenge. We have besides their burial customs, glimpses possibly of their social condition. Cæsar and other writers continually and persistently refer to races in Britain who had community of wives, and there can be no question that there was some foundation for the rumour. Nor can we have much doubt that the nation referred to was this Finnish one, for it is quite certain that it was not a Celtic or Aryan nation, among whom monagamy was the strict rule. The Pictish custom of succession through the female also establishes among them low ideas of marriage, quite consonant with community of wives; and from this we must conclude that the Picts were strongly intermixed with, if not altogether, a non-Aryan race. The nakedness and blue paint of historians is another feature which, as knowledge of the races of Britain advanced, the classical writers learned to locate among the inhabitants of Northern Scotland.

The long barrows were built by a race anterior to this Finnish race; the Finnish race built the round barrows, chambered cairns, and rude stone circles. They were probably also the builders of the brochs. The theory that brochs are of Norse origin arises from ethnological confusion; for the Norse were Aryans possessing iron implements, and builders, like the Germans and Celts, of wooden and not of stone buildings. The Picts were Finnish. Mr Joseph Anderson says that stone circles attain their principal development in Pictland proper, and are most abundant in the district between the Moray Firth and the Firth of Tay. "Those of the Scottish circles that have been examined," he says, "have yielded interments of the Bronze Age." This better development of the circles in Pictland goes to prove that the circle builders lasted longer in Pictland than anywhere else, and, in fact, that the builders were the ancestors of the historic Picts, and possibly the historic Picts themselves. Mr Fergusson,

from quite another standpoint, suggests that Clava is the burial place of the royal family of Brude Mac Maelchon, the King whom Columba visited on the banks of the Ness. The suggestion is not at all a bad one.

We shall now draw the threads of our argument together. In our process of elimination we discovered that the Aryan races built no stone circles ; the Celts, therefore, and their Druids, had nothing to do with them; they are pre-Celtic as well as pre-historic; the circles are so often connected with burial that we may take it for granted that they all originally had to do with burial; but we found, also, that in modern times, circles and stones were connected with worship, more especially the worship of ancestors. Everything points to their having been places of burial ; they surround dolmens and barrows, or even when alone yield at times burial deposits ; but their peculiar character, coupled with the fact of modern and ancient worship of and at stones, must make us pause ere we set burial down as their sole purpose. Would savage or barbaric man, out of mere reverence for the dead, raise such monuments to their memory ? It remains to consider what kind of worship could be held at places of sepulture, and why stone circles should be used. In the matter of worship, the old theories as to the sun and serpent worship may be dismissed as out of place in connection with burial, for the worship of the sun as the giver of light and heat has never had connection with death : Apollo must not be contaminated with death. The evident reference many of the circles have to the sun's course, as for instance that in this district the heaviest stones are to the south, or that the entrance may have a southerly aspect, only proves that the light and heat of the sun were regarded as necessary for the dead as well. That the existence of solar worship would add to and emphasise the " sunward " tendency—the sun reference of the circles—is freely allowed, but nothing more can be legitimately deduced from such a fact. As for serpent worship, it is plain that the advocates of that theory did not quite grasp the full significance of the serpent cultus and its connection with phallic worship. The only worship appropriate at the grave is that of deceased ancestors. A study of the beliefs and customs of savage and barbaric races makes it abundantly clear that this is about the earliest shape in which religion manifests itself. We must inquire what the anthopologist has to say in regard to people in this state of culture. Reverence for the dead and belief in the existence of the Deity are glibly asserted by theorists as existent among every race, but that is a delusion. Reverence and belief in the sense understood by a

civilised and educated person there are none, for savage belief is
eminently practical and unsentimental. To project the highest
feelings and opinions of civilised man — and these local, too — into
the early state of man, is to overlook the long perspective of time
with its evolution of ever higher feelings and beliefs. The lowest
phase of belief has been named by Mr Tylor, "animism": it
consists in believing that what is presented to us in our
dreams and other hallucinations has a real objective existence.
Savage man makes little or no difference between his dream-
ing and waking state. He sees the "shadows" of the dead in his
sleep, and believes in their objective reality. But not merely the
dead have shadows or spirits ; the living, too, have a spirit dupli-
cate of self. The reflection in water proves this no less than the
presentiment of the living man in dreams. Hence it is that the
savage dislikes the photographer. Animals and material objects,
of course, have souls, on the same grounds, for the dead hero ap-
pears in dreams with ghost of hatchet, sword, and spear. "The
Zulu will say that at death a man's shadow departs and becomes
an ancestral ghost, and the widow will relate how her husband has
come to her in her sleep, and threatened to kill her for not taking
care of his children ; or the son will describe how his father's ghost
stood before him in a dream, and the souls of the two, the living
and the dead, went off together to visit some far-off kraal of their
people." The funeral sacrifice of historic nations, of early Greeks,
Romans, and Celts, show how barbaric religion includes the souls
of men, animals, and material objects; for what was useful to the
dead when alive was burnt or buried along with them—chariots,
arms, horses, dogs, and even wives and slaves were sacrificed in
one mighty holocaust. The religious creed in which "animism"
embodies itself is, of course, the worship of the dead, especially the
worship of ancestors. Worship and reverence, here, have a dif-
ferent sense from our ideas of them. The dead are worshipped
for protection, and repaid with reverence, not merely in feeling,
but also in practical gifts and sacrifices at their tombs. It may
quite as often happen that their wrath is deprecated. From the
mere family ancestor, the worship may rise to that of great chiefs
and kings that are departed, and from that it may rise to a con-
ception of a supreme father—" The old old one " of the Zulus, as
they work back from ancestor to ancestor, thus arriving at an idea
of a creator, akin to the conception of the " Ancient of Days."
One's own ancestor may be good to one ; other people's ancestors
may be the reverse. Hence these last have to be propitiated ;
evil spirits are worshipped to avoid their wrath. Thus the ghost

of a British officer was not long ago worshipped in India as a god, and on his altar his demon-worshipping votaries placed what they thought would please and appease him, for it had pleased him in this life, namely, offerings of cheroots and brandy! In fact, all the ills that life is heir to are among some races attributed to evil spirits, while the good is the work of the beneficent spirits; and among such tribes it is through the medicine-man, with his exorcisms, there is the only means of escape. Let it be noted that ancestral ghosts may not merely exist in proper human form, but they often assume animal forms, and what is more, they may even take up their abode in material objects—trees, stones, or anything. Hence arises "fetish" worship—the worship of "stocks and stones." And it is also easy to see that we may, on the other hand, rise from ancestor worship, through this transmigration idea, to the height of polytheism, with its gods of sun, moon, and sky.

This reverence of the savage for the dead is therefore con-nected with his regard for himself. His religion, as usually happens in higher phases of culture, is selfish. The dead are therefore cared for and their abodes become places of worship. Various ways are adopted for disposal and worship of the dead. The hut they lived in may be left as a dwelling for them; the body may be buried in a canoe or coffin; a strong tomb may be built over it or its ashes, and this tomb may be a chamber with access to it to enable the votaries to bring offerings. Great labour was bestowed on these burial mounds of earth and stone. Nor have we yet ceased from this display, though we now have different methods and far different feelings in our burial rites. Yet there are survivals of ancient forms. "In the Highlands of Scotland," says Mr Tylor, "the memory of the old custom [raising of mounds and cairns] is so strong that the mourners, as they may not build the cairn over the grave in the churchyard, will sometimes set up a little one where the funeral procession halts on the way." Our memorial stones over the graves are but the descendants of the old menhirs; nor are dolmen forms absent in the stone box structures often placed over graves. In the Churchyard of Rothiemurchus, on the grave of Shaw Cor-fhiaclach, the hero of the North Inch at Perth, there used to be a row of small pillared stones set round all the sides of the tombstone. Circles of stone other than such far-off imitations as this we do not use now.

Burial and worship in early society go hand in hand, and we, therefore, conclude that these stone circles were used for both burial and worship, but more especially for worship, since mere

reverential memorials were, at that stage of culture, an impossi-
bility. Nevertheless there yet remains one part of our inquiry to
which an answer has not been given. Why should the stones be
set up *at intervals*, and *in a circle*? For all that our inquiry has
proved is that the dead were *worshipped* at their *graves*; it does
not necessarily answer the more particular question of a peculiar
form of grave or burial enclosure. The circular form and the
pillared stones set at intervals remain, after every elimination, the
only difficulty of the enquiry. Mr Fergusson developed the idea
of the circle from the circular mound, but he could not account
for the stones being set at intervals, and not close together.
Canon Greenwell suggested, as we saw, that their use was to
" fence " in the ghost of the departed. It is a superstition in the
Highlands yet that evil spirits can be kept off by drawing a circle
round oneself. Another suggestion made is that the number of
stones may have had something to do with the number of wor-
shippers, as is said to be the case in the Dekkan. It was also the
custom at the Hallowe'en fires for everyone to place a stone in a
ring round the fire as they were leaving, and, if by next morning,
anything happened to any of the stones, the person who placed it
there was fated to meet death or ill during the year. The Arabs
still set up stones of witness, whenever they first catch sight of
certain holy places. The stones in the circle may have been " wit-
ness " stones, or else stones at which sacrifice was made. Yet the
regularity of their number, generally ten or a dozen, forbids much
hopeful speculation in these lines. Another theory connects the
burial circle with phallic worship; the circle itself would answer
to the yoni symbol and the menhirs upon it to the linga. The
principles of life and of death would thus be worshipped together,
which is not an uncommon circumstance. The cup-markings so
often met with on burial monuments lend additional weight to
this view.

To sum up. Our negative conclusions are, that neither the
Celts nor their Druids built these stone circles, nor were they for
sun or fire worship, and they were not the foundation either
of dwellings or of dismantled mounds. Our positive results are,
that the stone circles were built by pre-historic races—in this
country, probably by the Picts; that they are connected with
burial, though built independent of mounds and other forms of
tomb; that they are also connected with ancestor worship, and
that the whole difficulty resolves itself into the question of
why they are of circular form and why the stones are set at
intervals.

THE ANCIENT CELTS.

(1) THEIR GENERAL HISTORY.

Three or four centuries before Christ, when the history of
Western Europe is slowly emerging from obscurity, we find a
people, named the Celts, in possession of the vast extent of terri-
tory that stretches from the Adriatic and Upper Danube to the
Western Ocean, and embraces the British Isles. The northern
boundary of the Celts was the Rhine and Mid-Germany, and they
extended on the south as far as Central Spain, and the range of
the Apennines in Italy. Contrary to the general tendency of
early European nations to move westward, the Celts are then
found to be already surging eastward, repelled by the impassable
Atlantic ; for, as Calgacus said to his Caledonians, there was now
no land beyond—nothing save the waves and the rocks. Their
history, till the second century before our era, presents little but a
series of eastward eruptions—" tumults," the Romans called
them, whereby over-populous districts were freed of their surplus
population. Now and again they would pour through the passes
of the Alps, and in a strong compact body make their way to
Tuscany and Mid-Italy, striking terror into every Italian tribe,
and into Rome as much as any of the rest. It is, indeed, with a
great invasion of the Gauls that authentic Roman history begins,
for the Gauls in 390 B.C. took and sacked the town of Rome itself,
doubtless destroying all older records of its history. Another
great invasion of the Gauls was made into Greece in 280 B.C., in
which the temple of Delphi was taken and pillaged ; and so com-
pact and well arranged was this body of invaders that they passed
over to Asia Minor, overran it, and after various ups and downs
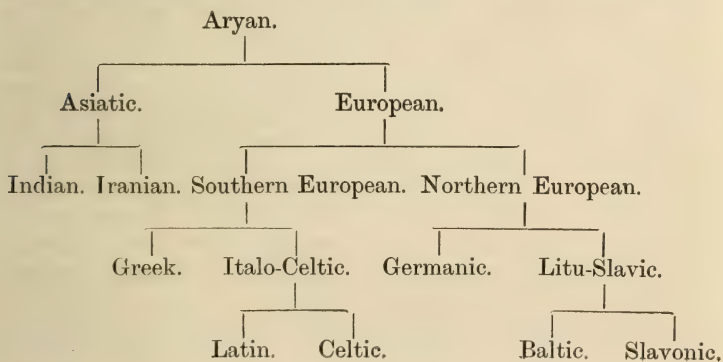settled finally, about 230 B.C., to the limits of the province of

Galatia. These Gauls of Asia Minor are the people whom St Paul addressed in his epistle to the "Galatians." In later times they were called Gallo-Graecians, from their mixture with Greeks, but they appear to have preserved their language till the fourth century of our era, for St Jerome tells us their dialect was like that spoken by the Treviri of northern Gaul. Their customs and peculiarities of temperament, as we gather these from the historians and from St Paul, were thoroughly "Celtic." From the end of the third century before Christ, the history of the Celtic people is everywhere one of loss ; the tide of invasion was then successfully turned against them. "They went to the war, but they always fell ;" so sings the last of the Feni, the warrior bard who typifies the fate of his race. The Celts were excellent as invaders, though poor colonisers ; but against invasion they were most unsuccessful. The centrifugal tendency so apparent in the race was not permitted to find scope in an enemy's country ; but in their own country they could not, from mutual jealousy and selfishness, unite for any length of time against the invader. For instance, the Belgae, instead of keeping banded together against Cæsar, and unitedly repelling him, preferred to return each tribe to their own territories, and there await until he attacked some neighbouring tribe, when they intended to come to their assistance. "Seldom is it," says Tacitus, "that two or three states meet together to ward off the common danger. Thus, while they fight singly, all are conquered." After the first Punic war, the Romans made an effort to subdue their troublesome neighbours in the basin of the Po in North Italy. In the course of four years, from 225 to 222 B.C., the whole country was overrun and converted into a Roman province. But it was only after the second Punic war, and on the final conquest of the Boii in 191, that Gallia Cisalpina became a real Roman province. The Celts of Spain, known better as the Celtiberi—Celts and Iberians—were conquered during the second Punic war, but, being a brave and warlike people, they kept up rebellions, and defied Rome, until, with the fall of Numantia in B.C. 134, they were completely subdued. The Gauls of France were not attacked by the Romans until they had assured their power in the East, in Africa, and in Spain. In B.C. 125 the consul Fulvius Flaccus began the reduction of the Salluvii around Massilia, and in a few years they were subdued, and the Allobroges next attacked. The south of Gaul was by the year 118 B.C. made into a province. Matters, however, remained in this state till the advent of Julius Cæsar in 58 B.C. He was bold enough to attempt the subjugation of Gaul, and in eight years he accomplished his

object. All Gaul south of the Rhine was made into a Roman province, and tribute was exacted from the nearest British tribes. In A.D. 43, the conquest of Britain, commenced by Cæsar, was resumed and carried on until by the year 80 all England and Scotland, as far as the Firth of Forth, were reduced into a Roman province. The Celts of Ireland and Northern Scotland were never reduced by the Romans. Under the sway of the Romans the Celtic dialects of Spain and Gaul gradually gave way before the Latin, though not without leaving their marks on the result- ing Romance languages that arose on the ruins of the Roman empire. The Gaulish appears never to have died out in Western France, for between the native speakers of it in the 4th and 5th centuries and the immigrants from Britain, it succeeded in main- taining its ground through every chance and change, and is even now in France the speech of a million and a quarter people—the inhabitants of Britanny. How the Romanised Britons were con- quered by the English, and driven into the western corners of the land—Cornwall, Wales, and Strathclyde, until now only Wales remains a British-speaking people, containing a million people who can speak or use a Celtic speech ; how Ireland was conquered by the Anglo-Celts in the 12th century, and the ancient language has been pushed into the West, so that now only 870 thousand can speak and use the Gaelic ; how in Scotland the ancient lan- guage of Caledonia has been gradually shrinking until only a quarter of a million in the Highlands speak it, and only 310 thousand all over Scotland can speak or use it ; and how thus only three and a-half millions of people in Europe speak the Celtic language, which two thousand years ago covered most of Western Europe,—all this belongs to the history, not of the ancient, but of the modern Celt.

From the consideration of what history has to say of the Celtic nations, let us pass to what science has proved in regard to Celtic origins and culture. It was well on in this century before the relationship of the Celtic race to the rest of the European races was put on a firm scientific basis, and it is only a generation since that English writers accepted the fact of distant cousinship with the Celt. The sciences to which appeal must be made are those that deal with antiquities, culture, and language. It is really the science of language that has enabled the Celt to take his place within the sacred ring of European kinship ; the evidence of words, roots, and inflections has been too patent and convincing for even the grudging Saxon to reject. With the exception of the Turks, Hungarians, Basques, and Finns

with Lapps and Esthonians, the European nations are proved *linguistically* to be of the same race. Within that extensive family circle must also be embraced the Hindoos, Afghans, Persians, and Armenians; and the whole race so included has been variously named the Indo-European, Indo-Celtic, Indo-Germanic, and the Aryan race. As the last term is the most convenient, it shall be adopted here. It is by a comparison of the vocabularies and grammatical forms of the languages of these various races that scientists have come to the conclusion that, linguistically at least, these nations are descended from a common Aryan stock. Radical elements expressing such objects and relations as father, mother, brother, sister, wife, daughter, daughter-in-law; cow, dog, horse, cattle, ox; corn, mill; earth, sky, water, star; gold, silver, metal; house, door, household, clan, king; god, man, holiness, goodness, baseness, badness; law, right; war, hunting; wood, tree; various kinds of trees, flowers, birds, and beasts; weaving, wool, clothes; honey, flesh, food, and hundreds more, to which may be added the names of spring and summer, moon, sun, the numerals as far as one hundred. The Aryans were high in the barbaric stage of culture — barbaric as opposed on the one hand to civilised culture, and on the other to the savage stage. They had regular marriage on the monogamic principle; the position of woman was therefore high; grades of kinship were marked; and, indeed, the idea of "family" was altogether highly developed. The state seems to have been of the patriarchal type—an enlarged family in idea; there were kings, nobles, council, and laws. Houses, hamlets, roads or paths, and waggons existed. Sheep, oxen, and all domestic cattle were possessed and named. Agriculture existed, and various kinds of corn, fruits, and trees were known and used. Gold, silver, and copper or bronze were known, but evidently not iron; and implements of war and the chase were made of the metals known—sword, and spear, and plough. Polytheism was the form of religious belief, wherein the powers of nature were worshipped as deities in anthropomorphic form. When or where this nation lived cannot well be known, but the general idea is that it lived over three thousand B.C. in Western Asia. In any case, it split up into many leading branches, variously estimated at seven, eight, and ten. Schleicher and Fick have attempted to show how this process occurred, and to trace the relationship of the various branches among themselves. According to them, the Aryan race first divided into the Asiatic and European groups. The Asiatic subsequently subdivided into the Indian (ancient Sanskrit and

modern Indian dialects), and the Iranian or Persian Family (ancient Zend and Persian, and the modern dialects of Afghanistan, Persia, &c.) The European branch, which developed some features of common culture after their separation from the Asiatic branch, split up into two divisions, South European and North European. The latter branch again produced the great Teutonic and Slavonic branches; while the former diverged into the Greek, Roman, and Celtic races. The place of Celtic in this family scheme was for long doubtful, and a hot dispute arose between the leading philologist as to whether the Celtic was more allied to the Latin than it was to the Germanic branch. Ebel held that the Celtic belonged to the Germanic branch, on the ground that the number of diphthongs was the same in each, and that "a pervading analogy in the Slavonian, Teutonic, and both branches of the Celtic" exists, evidenced by the use of time particles, like *do* and *ro* in Celtic, and the German *ge*, and strengthened also by other minor details. But against this Schleicher was able to produce some formidable analogies between Celtic and Latin, such as (1) the general resemblance in declension; (2) the future in *b* or *f (amabo* of Lat. and old Irish *carfa, no charub); and (3) the passive in *r (fertur* of Lat., and old Irish *carthir).* The general belief now is that Celtic and Latin are much more allied to each other than either is to Germanic, or any other tongue. But the more advanced philologists are inclined to scout the idea of "genealogy" as unscientific, or at least as too narrow, and a system of grouping merely is adopted. But for popular purposes the genealogical idea is undoubtedly scientific enough, and certainly more easy to understand and remember. The following table presents the latest phase of the genealogy of the Aryan tongues :—

Aryan.

Asiatic.   European.

Indian. Iranian. Southern European. Northern European.

Greek.   Italo-Celtic.   Germanic.   Litu-Slavic.

Latin.   Celtic.   Baltic.   Slavonic.

The discussion as to when, how, and where the Aryan races entered Europe first— if, indeed, they are not originally European —is a highly speculative subject. Fick thinks that they entered Europe along the north of the Caspian and Black Seas, and settled down on the Danube. The Graeco-Italo-Celtic branch was settled on the Upper Danube, until a date, says M. D'Arbois De Jubainville, sufficiently near, perhaps, the 15th century before Christ. At this date he sends the Hellenic race down to Epirus, and afterwards to both coasts of the Ægean Sea. The upper Danube was Celtic until it was engulfed in the Empire of Rome. Plutarch appears to refer to the original invasion of Gaul by the Celts, and this M. De Jubainville thinks took place some seven centuries before Christ, a date that seems to be rather too late, considering that Massilia was founded about 600 B.C. The Italic race had a good while before this left the Celts, and taken a southerly direction, the Etruscans settling in their territory about 992 B.C. Passing from this speculation to ground more assured, we know from archæological study that other races existed in Europe previous to the Celts. The contents of Neolithic and Bronze-Age barrows prove the existence of at least two pre-Aryan races, differing much in physique and culture from the type regarded as Aryan. For the European Aryans are regarded as tall, fair-haired, straight-featured, and dolicho-cephalic or long-headed ; while the barrows present us with two other types—a small, evidently dark-skinned, long-headed race, and another race—fair, tall, rough-featured, and round-headed. The dark-skinned race, called by the ethnologists Iberian, was in its Stone Age for the most part ; while the round-headed race, named Finnish or Ugrian, belonged to the Bronze Age. " It seems to be certain," says Mr Elton, " that some great proportion of the population of the Western Countries is connected by actual descent with the pre-Celtic occupants of Europe ; and it is regarded as highly probable that one branch or layer of these earlier inhabitants should be attributed to that Ugrian stock, which comprises the Quains, Finns, Magyars, Esthonians, Livonians, and several kindred tribes whose territories abut upon the Baltic, the White Sea, and the Volga." Everything points to Aquitania, the Pyrennees district, and a good part of Spain having been possessed by the older or Iberian race, and their language may now remain in the modern Basque. It is from this Spanish connection that they are named Iberian. Tacitus informs us that the inhabitants of the Severn valley in Wales were evidently of Iberian descent. " The dark complexion

of the Silures," he says, "their usually curly hair, and the fact that Spain is the opposite shore (!) to them, are evidence that Iberians of a former date crossed over and occupied these parts." Now the importance of clearly grasping the fact that the Celtic races conquered and exterminated, or, more often, absorbed the previous races, cannot be over-estimated. For the abuse of national names like Celtic, in indiscriminately applying them for archæological or political purposes to races that are clearly very much mixed in blood, is to be deplored for the sake of sound science and of political justice. Aryan, Teutonic, or Celtic can apply primarily only to language and culture; for the Aryans must have absorbed most of the previous population. And this previous population has demonstrably influenced the physique of the Aryan, while traces of its influence can be shown to exist in the customs, language, and characteristics of the now or previously existing Aryan races. Undoubtedly the most Celtic country in Europe is France; George Long estimated its present "Celticity" at 19-20ths of the population—an estimate which is doubtless far too high, considering the absorption of the non-Aryan Aquitanians, and the intrusion of the non-Celtic Romans, Franks, and Normans. Nevertheless, France, in modern times, represents fully the virtues and the weaknesses which ancient and modern writers have recognised as inherent in the Celtic character. "Idealism," Matthew Arnold calls the general characteristic of the Celt, "showing itself," as Professor Geddes says, "in the disposition to make the future or the past more important than the present; to gild the horizon with a golden age in the far past, as do the Utopian Conservatives; or in the remote future, as do the equally Utopian Revolutionists." Roman writers notice their wonderful quickness of apprehension, their great craving for knowledge, and their impressibility. They were generous to a degree, loyal to their own chiefs, prompt in action, but incapable of sustained effort or united action. Cæsar is never tired of speaking of their changeableness and their "celerity," both physical and mental, while Livy speaks of their unrestrained indignation and impetuosity. Added to this, they were a race much given to superstition and religious observance. But many of these qualities are virtues: "In their pure and unsophisticated condition," says Professor Geddes, "they have been in the main distinguished by these four qualities more particularly, Reverence religiously, devoted Faithfulness politically, Politeness or civility socially, and Spirit or, as the French would call it, Esprit universally." If we compare the four or five chief Celtic races that remain, we shall find much apparent and much

real diversity hiding some remarkable features of agreement. The religious character of the Celt is strong in Brittany, Wales, and the Highlands; in France, generally, and in Ireland, the emotion exists along with more of a critical and humorous spirit. Wit and genius are more sparkling in Ireland and France, while loyalty to chiefs and exploded causes is characteristic of the Highlands and Ireland. The diversities among these branches of the Celtic races—and they are numerous, so numerous as to make the ordinary political meaning of "Celtic" inapplicable to the Highlands—must arise from mixture of races. The Welsh have a basis of Iberian and Gaelic-Irish, and an intrusion of English among them. The Irish have Iberians in the South, and Finns in the North for basis, generally speaking, while Danes, English, and Scotch have intruded upon them; so that in some of the disaffected parts it is clear that, not Celtic, but Teutonic blood is responsible for the persistency and atrocity of their conduct. In the Highlands, the basis is the non-Aryan Pict, with here and there a dash of the Iberian, while the Celt has been intruded upon by the Norseman and the Englishman.

The oldest mention we have of the Celts is in Herodotus, in the 5th century B.C. " For the River Istros," says he, "from its source among Celts, and the city Pyrene, flows dividing Europe in the middle. The Celts (Keltoi) are outside the Pillars of Hercules, and border on the Kynesii, who dwell furthest west of the inhabitants of Europe." Their next appearance in a historical work is in Xenophon, who mentions the Celts as mercenaries with Dionysius of Syracuse, in 368, B.C. " The ships brought Keltoi and Iberes." Strabo tells us that Ephorus (in the second half of the 4th century B.C.) exaggerates the size of Celtica, "including in it what we now call Iberia, as far as Gadeira," and in another place Ephorus represents them as possessing the part of the world lying between the setting of summer and the setting of winter. Pytheas actually visited the West and North, and was in Britain himself in the 4th century B.C., but unfortunately his narrative has been lost, appearing only in fragments, which are often subjected to the adverse criticism of the ancients as fables, though now they are known to be the truth. Aristotle knew about the Celts; he mentions them as being said to fear "neither earthquake nor floods," as putting but little clothing on their children, and as having so cold a country, "the Celts above Iberia," that the ass does not thrive there. He also heard of Rome having been taken by the Celts, Plutarch tells us. The Periplus of Scylax, about 335 B.C., represents the Celts as established at the head of the

Adriatic, and we are told by Ptolemy, Alexander's General, as quoted by Strabo, that, while Alexander was operating against the Danubian tribes, "the Ceits who dwell on the Adriatic came to Alexander, for the purpose of making a treaty of friendship and mutual hospitality, and that the king received them in a friendly way and asked them, while drinking, what might be the chief object of their dread, supposing that they would say it was he ; but that they replied, it was no man, only they felt some alarm lest the heavens should sometime or other fall on them, but that they valued the friendship of such a man as him above everything." Hitherto, the name Celt or Keltos was the only one used, but after the invasion into Greece in 279 B.C., a new name makes its appearance. This name is Galatae. It first appears in two epitaphs on Grecian youths slain in the war with the Celts in 279. Timaeus speaks of the country of "Galatia, named after Galates, son of Cyclops and Galatia," and it seems that he rendered the name Galatae popular, for after this period it is the favourite Greek name. Polybius, a Greek writer of the second century B.C., uses the name Keltos for the ancient Celts, and the name Galatae he rather applies to the Celts in their contact with Rome in the third and second centuries. The favourite Roman name was Galli, which included the inhabitants of Gallia, the Celts of Spain, and those of Galatia. Cæsar, however, tells us that Gaul was divided into three parts : the Aquitanians were in the south, the Belgae in the north, and in the middle the Gauls, as the Romans called them, but they called themselves Celtae. Here the term "Gauls" applies only to one branch of the Celtic people, but this limited use of the name was not recognised even by Cæsar himself. Diodorus Siculus, Cæsar's contemporary, who wrote in Greek, calls the country north of Massilia, from the Alps to the Pyrennees, Celtica (Cæsar's "Gauls" and Aquitania), and the people of the country north of this Celtica along the Atlantic and the Hercynian Forest on to Scythia, are called Galatae. "The Romans call all these collectively Gauls." Diodorus gives us a complete version of the myth that Timaeus evidently told in full. Hercules, when on his expedition against Geryon, turned aside into Gaul, founded there Alesia, and married a haughty Gaulish dame, who gave birth to a son named Galates. This Galates surpassed all his countrymen in valour and strength, and obtaining by his warlike exploits a wide fame and sway, he gave his subjects and his country his own name to bear, the one to be known as Galatia, and the others as Galatae. Pausanias, a writer of the second century of our era says, in explanation of the use of the

names Celt and Galatae : "It was late before it became the habit to call them Galatae ; for Celtic was their name of old, both among themselves and other people."

The three names which we have for this ancient people are therefore Keltoi or Celtæ, Galatai and Galli. Of these Celti is two centuries older than Galatae in use. The derivation of Celt is not finally decided. Gluck, in his work on the Celtic Names in Cæsar, suggests that the root is seen in Latin *celsus*, "high," to which Lithuanian *keltas*, of like meaning and derivation, may be added. Allied to this root is the English word "hill." This is the best derivation of the word. Professor Rhys suggested in his "Celtic Britain" a connection with Old Norse "hildr," war, Bellona, but he has now withdrawn it on discovering that the old Irish and Gaelic word *cliath* (war) is the proper representative of *hildr*. The names Galatae and Galli are evidently connected, and as Windisch says, no doubt of Celtic origin. The form Galatae is oldest and nearest the true form. It answers to the old Irish word *galdae*, brave; for the form *galdae* points to a primitive form *galatias*. The root is *gal*, of old Irish, and *goil* of Gaelic, which signifies bravery.

(2) MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE ANCIENT CELTS.

Our sources of information in regard to the manners and customs of the Celts are threefold :—(1), The historians of Greece and Rome have left some accounts of them, short and rather meagre ; (2), Archæology throws some light on Gaulish customs and life; we can, for instance, verify the fact of the tallness of person of the Gauls from their skeletons found in their tombs, and we have remains of their weapons, implements, coins, statues, &c.; and (3), we know their Aryan descent, and can steady our inquiry by the light derived from the customs and life of other Aryan nations, while mediæval and modern Celtic customs and manners will give much material help.

It is purely with the first source that this paper will deal, and the writers will be quoted *in extenso*, as far as possible, for, as some of the authors to be quoted are not easy of access, and some remain in the obscurity of their original, more material good to other inquirers will be done by a full and accurate quotation, than by a garbled and *ex parte* statement. And first in the order of time comes Polybius, who says (Book II., cap. 15, &c.):—

"In regard to the cheapness and abundance of food [in Gaul], one may most accurately understand it from this :—Travellers through the country in putting up at an inn, do not bargain about

the details of their bill, but ask at how much they put up a man.
The innkeepers undertake, for the most part, to do everything that
is absolutely necessary for half an *as*, that is, the fourth of an *obol*,
and they rarely exceed that.   The numbers of the men, the size
and beauty of their persons, and further, their daring in war,
can be understood clearly from the deeds they accomplished.
.   .   .   They dwell in villages that are unwalled, and they have
no other furniture.   For as they slept on straw and ate flesh, and
besides practiced nothing else but warlike matters and agriculture,
they led a simple life, no other knowledge or art being known
among them at all.   The property of the individual lay in cattle
and in gold, because these alone can be easily moved anywhere
and transferred to any place they like.   They spend very much
trouble on forming companionships or clubs, because he is the
most feared and most powerful among them who appears to have
the most individuals to dance attendance on him and act as
hangers-on.   .   .   .   But on returning home they quarrelled over
the booty captured, and consequently lost a great part of it and of
their army.   That is a common practice with the Gauls, whenever
they appropriate anything belonging to others, caused more especi-
ally through drinking and eating to excess.   .   .   .   The Insubres
and the Boii advanced dressed in trousers and saga (cloaks), but
the Gæsatæ threw these away   .   .   .   and because the Gaulish
shield cannot cover a man, the larger and the more unprotected
their persons were the less the weapons missed their purpose.
.   .   .   Their swords are so fashioned that they deliver one good
cutting stroke, but at once become blunt and bent, so that unless
the soldier has time to straighten the sword with his foot and
the ground, it is incapable of striking another blow.   .   .   .
The Romans, coming to close quarters, deprived the Gauls of
using their swords for slashing, for which they are adapted, for
their swords want points.   .   .   .   The Gauls were fiercest in
the first onset in courage   .   .   .   and are fickle."

The next writer we shall quote is Posidonius, the Stoic, who
lived in the first decades of the first century before Christ.   He
was a great traveller, and had an extensive knowledge of the
Western European nations.   His works have not come down to
us, but fortunately Athenæus, a compiler of the 3rd century of
our era, quotes him and others in their own words in a sort of *ana*
book, and the following are his extracts from Posidonius in regard
to the Celts :—

"The Celti have their food placed before them as they sit on
grass, on tables made of wood, raised a very little above the

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ground. Their food consists of a few loaves and a good deal of meat served in water, and roasted on the coals or on spits. They eat their food in a cleanly manner enough, but lion-fashion they take up whole joints in their hands and gnaw at them. And if there is any bit hard to tear away, they cut it off with a small knife which they have sheathed in a private depository. Those who live by the rivers and by the Atlantic and Mediterranean eat also fish, and these, too, roasted with salt and vinegar and cummin. This they also throw into their drink. Oil they do not use on account of its scarcity, and, because they are not used to it, it seems nauseous to them. When many of them eat together they sit in a circle, and the bravest man is in the middle, like the coryphæus of a chorus, whether excelling the rest on account of his military skill or birth or riches. Beside him is the entertainer, and then on each side the rest of the guests sit in regular order according to their position. And those that bear their shields—large, oblong ones—stand behind them, and their spear-bearers sit down opposite in a circle, and feast in the same way as their masters. The cup-bearers bring round the drink in vessels like beakers, either of earthenware or silver. And the platters upon which they have their bread placed before them are of the same materials ; but some have brazen platters, and others wooden or wicker ones. And the liquor which is drunk is, among the rich, wine, brought from Italy and Massilia. And it is unmixed, but at times a little water is mixed with it. Among the poorer classes, however, the drink is a beer made of wheat prepared with honey, and with the majority the beer alone is the beverage. It is called *korma*. And they all drink it out of the same cup in small draughts of not more than a glassful at a time, but they take frequent draughts. And a slave carries the liquor round, beginning from right to left. That is the way they are waited upon, and they worship their gods turning to their right hand." Another quotation from Posidonius, apparently following closely the one above, says :—" The Celts at times fight single combats at their meals. For being assembled under arms, they spar and wrestle with each other, and at times go so far as wounding. And getting angry from this, they go on even to slaughter, if the bystanders do not check them. In olden times," he says, "a hindquarter was put before them, the thigh flesh of which the bravest man took ; but if any one else laid claim to it, they got up and fought the duel to death. Others, at a public entertainment (*theatron*), accept a sum of silver or gold—some a number of jars of wine, and, after taking pledges for the giving of them and be-

queathing them to their nearest friends, lie down on their backs at full length on their long shields, and some bystander with a sword cuts their throat." Of the bards, Posidonius says :—"The Celts, even when they make war, take about with them companions, whom they call ' parasites.' These celebrate their praises not only before large companies assembled together, but also before private individuals who are willing to listen. Their music and song come from men called bards (bardoi), and they are poets who recite praises with song." And it is in this connection, probably, that Posidonius tells of the magnificence of Luernius, the father of Bityis, King of the Arverni, who was subdued by the Romans in 121 B.C., for he, " aiming at becoming leader of the populace, used to drive in a chariot over the plains, and scatter gold and silver among the myriads of Celts who followed him." He built a place twelve furlongs every way, which he filled with wine-presses and eatables, where for many days anybody might go and revel gratis. " And, once, when he had issued beforehand invitations to a banquet, one of the poets of the ' barbarians,' coming too late, met him on the way, extolled his magnificence in a hymn, and bewailed his own ill fortune for being too late. Luernius, being gratified, asked for a purse of gold and threw it to him as he was running by the side of his chariot; and he picked it up and then went on singing how his very footprints upon the earth over which he drove produced gold and benefits to men."

Cæsar is the next authority on the Celts in the order of time, but as his works are easily accessible to all, only a condensed version of his account of the manners and customs of the Celts will be given. Men of any account in Gaul, he says, belong either to the class of Druids or of nobles, for the general population are regarded as slaves, and are invited to no political meeting. In fact, pressed by debt or by tyranny, they give themselves up as slaves to the nobles, who have over them all the rights of masters over their slaves. The Druids and their views Cæsar describes at fair length as well as the Gaulish Polytheism, but as we have in a former paper considered that subject, we pass to the rest of his description. The second class is the " equites" or nobles. They make arms their profession, for before Cæsar's time they had yearly wars either of offence or defence, and those are reckoned the greatest who have most retainers and dependents. In fact, that is the only species of power they are acquainted with. The Gauls reckon their time by nights and not by days. In other customs and manners, their peculiarity consists in that they don't suffer their children to appear in their presence, except when grown

up, much less that a young lad should sit by his father's side in public. The dowry that a woman brings, the husband must equal by a sum from his own resources, and this total falls to either survivor. They have power of life and death over their wives and children, and widows are tortured for information, if there is a suspicion of foul play on a husband's death, and, on proof of guilt, put to death. Their funerals are magnificent, considering their state of culture, and everything dear to the deceased, formerly even slaves and dependents, are burnt along with them. The best regulated states have a law that anyone who has foreign news of state importance must report the same first to the Government, because experience has shown that rash and unexperienced men are driven or frightened by false rumours to crime and rash political action. The Government conceal or reveal the news, according to their judgment. Politics must not be discussed except by a public assembly. In another place, Cæsar says that the Gauls have the weakness of being fickle in political action, and prone to revolution. They compel travellers to tell everything they have heard or learnt, and merchants are surrounded by a crowd that demands whence they came, and what was doing there. On such facts and reports they adopt measures of the highest political importance, which they soon have cause to regret, because of the uncertainty, and, for the most part, wilful falsity of the information. In another book he speaks of their extreme intellectual cleverness and their great capabilities for imitating and doing anything they saw, and further on he states that "to desert their chief, even in the extremity of fortune, is, in the moral code of the Gauls, accounted as a crime." His description of the Britons may be condensed as follows :—Inland Britain is inhabited by native tribes, but the coast is held by Belgians, who have given the names of the places they came from to their new settlements. The population is countless, the buildings very numerous, and almost exactly like those of Gaul, and cattle is plentiful. They use for money coins of brass or rods of iron, made to a certain weight. Tin is found in the midland districts, and iron on the coast, but not in plenty. Their brass is imported. The hare, the hen, and the goose they won't taste on religious grounds. The inhabitants of Kent are the most civilised ; in fact, they differ little from the Gauls. The people inland sow no corn, but live on milk and flesh, and clothe themselves with skins. All the Britons paint themselves with woad, which produces blue colour. This makes them more terrible in aspect. They wear

the hair long, and shave all except the upper lip. Communities of ten to twelve men have their wives in common, and the children belong to the man who originally married the mother. They have chariots, and fight with them in this way. First, they ride along the whole field, and fire their missiles, and by the noise and the impetus of their horses cause confusion, and so break into their opponents' ranks, when they leap down and fight on foot. The charioteers meanwhile withdraw, and place the chariots in such a way that, if the fighters are hard pressed, they may fall back on them easily. Their skill by long practice is such that even in steep and precipitous places they can check the horses at full speed, and also guide and turn them in a moment, and they can run along the tram pole, stand on its end, and run back again with the utmost celerity.

Cæsar's contemporary, Diodorus of Sicily, has left us per- haps the most important account of the Celts that we now possess. Both he and Strabo found largely on Posidonius. Diodorus' mythical account of the origin of the Gaulish people has already been given. "After this explanation as to the names of the Gauls," says he, "it is needful to speak of their country also. Gaul is inhabited by many nations, differing in size, for the largest possess about two hundred thousand men, and the least fifty thousand. . . . . From the destructive nature of the climate, neither vine nor olive is produced. Accordingly, the Gauls deprived of these fruits prepare a drink from *barley*, which is called zythos. They run water through honeycombs, and use for drink this dilution. Being excessively fond of wine, they swallow it undiluted, when it is imported by merchants, and through their keenness for it, they drink large quantities, which drives them into sleep or a state of insanity. Hence many Italian merchants turn the drunkenness of the Gauls to their own gain; for they bring by the rivers in boats or by the roads in carts wine to them, and receive in return an incredible price. For a jar of wine they get a slave, exchanging the drink for a servant.

"In Gaul no silver at all is got, but plenty of gold, which nature supplies to the inhabitants without the trouble of mining. The mountain streams rushing down break off the soil of their banks, and fill it with gold dust. This soil, those engaged in such work gather, and from it eliminate the gold by breaking up and sifting it with water. In this way a great quantity of gold is collected, which not merely women, but also men use for orna- ment. Hence they carry armlets and bracelets; they make thick

torques of pure gold for the neck, splendid rings, and, in addition, breastplates of gold. A remarkable and unexpected fact holds among the interior Gauls in regard to places of the worship of the gods. In the temples and consecrated groves through the country, there lies cast about a great quantity of gold dedicated to the gods ; and none of the inhabitants will touch it through religious fear, excessively fond though the Celts be of money.

"The Gauls have tall persons ; their flesh is sappy and white ; their hair is not only yellow, but they strive by art to add to the peculiarity of its natural hue. For they often rub their hair with a chalk wash, and draw it back from the front of the head to the crown and ridge of the head, so that they present the appearance of Satyrs. From cultivation their hair gets so thick as to differ in no respect from a horse's mane. Some shave their faces (chins) ; others grow a moderate beard ; the better classes shave the cheeks, but grow a moustache so as to cover the mouth. Accordingly in eating, the moustache is mixed up with the food, and in drinking, the drink runs through a sieve as it were. At meals they do not sit upon seats, but upon the ground, making use of the skins of wolves and dogs for rugs. They are waited upon by very young children of both sexes, and of fit age. Near them is a fire-place, full of fire, with kettles and spits, full of large pieces of flesh. They honour their brave men with the best portions of the meat, just as the poet introduces Ajax as honoured by the chiefs, when he had conquered Hector in single fight.—

"And with long chine-slices he honoured Ajax."

They invite the strangers to the feasts, and when the meal is over, they ask who they are, and what they want. And even at the meal they are wont, after holding a word-battle arising out of what was occurring, to challenge each other and fight in single combat, caring not a jot for the loss of their life. For among them the opinion of Pythagorus prevails, that the souls of men are immortal, and in the course of a fixed number of years they live again, the soul entering another body. Accordingly, at the burial of the dead, some cast letters addressed to their departed relatives upon the funeral pile, under the belief that the dead will read them.

"In journeys and in battles they employ two-horsed chariots, the car of which carries a charioteer and a fighting man. And when meeting cavalry in battle they hurl their javelins at their opponents, and dismounting they resort to a fight with the sword. Some among them so much despise death that they enter danger naked and girt only with a belt. They employ freemen as ser-

vants, taken from the poorer classes, whom they employ as
charioteers and attendants. They are wont in battle array to
rush from the ranks and challenge the best of their opponents to
single combat, shaking their arms and striking terror into their
foes. Whenever anyone proceeds to the fight, they sing the brave
deeds of his forefathers, and publish his own exploits, while they
revile and humiliate his opponent, and with their words deprive
him of all courage of soul. The heads of their fallen enemies they
cut off and hang to their horses manes ; the bloody trophies they
hand to their servants and lead in triumph, singing peaans and
songs of victory. These best parts of the booty they hang up in
their houses just as if they were trophies of the hunt. The heads
of the noblest enemies they embalm and preserve in chests, and
show them with pride to strangers ; how that for this head some
ancestor or parent or himself had been offered a large sum of
money, and had refused it. They say that some of them boast
that they did not accept an equal weight of gold for the head,
thus displaying a kind of barbaric magnaminity ; for it is not
noble not to sell the pledges of valour, but to make war upon the
dead of one's own race is brutal. They wear astounding clothes ;
dyed tunics flowered with various colours, and trousers, which
they call " breeches." They buckle on striped cloaks (*tartan cl.*),
thick ones in winter and light ones in summer, chequered with
close, gaudy squares (πολυανθεσι πλινθοις). They use as arms shields
of a man's height (θυρεος = door-shaped), characteristically em-
bellished with divers colours. Some have brazen relief represent-
ations on them of animals skilfully worked, not merely for
ornament but also for safety. They wear brazen helmets, having
huge projections rising out of them, and producing the appearance
of great tallness on the part of the wearers. Some helmets have
horns shooting out of them, and others have the figures of birds
and the faces of animals carved on them in high relief. They
have peculiar barbaric trumpets, for with them they blow and
produce a grating sound calculated to cause terror to the foe.
Some wear coats of iron chain mail, and some are satisfied with
the armour of nature, and fight unprotected by mail. In place of
a sword they wear long *cutlasses* (broadswords, σπαθη), hanging with
an iron or brass chain on the right thigh. Some begird their
tunics with belts ornamented with gold or silver. They carry
spear lances which they call λαγκια, having the heads a cubic in
length of iron and even more, and in breadth not much short of
two palm-breadths. For the swords are not less than the
javelins (σαυνιον) of others, and the javelins have longer blades than

our swords. Some of these are forged straight; some have throughout backward bent barbs not merely to cut, but so as to break the flesh all in pieces, and on the withdrawal of the spear to tear open the wound.

"They are terrible of aspect, and their voices are deep-sounding and very rough, and in intercourse they are curt in speech, enigmatic, and speaking much obscurely and figuratively; they say much in hyperbolic language for their own aggrandisement and the detraction of others. They are threateners, declaimers, and stagey exaggerators, but sharp in intellect, and not naturally inapt for learning. There are among them poets of song whom they name "bards," and these, on an instrument similar to the lyre, sing in praise of some and in dispraise of others. They have certain philosophers and theologians, held in excessive honour, whom they name Druids. They also employ soothsayers, and bestow much esteem on them. These, through bird auspices and the sacrifice of victims, foretell the future, and have the entire multitude subservient to them. Especially when they have under consideration any serious business, they have a wonderful and incredible practice, for they offer a man as sacrifice, striking him with a knife at the point above where the diaphragm is, and as he falls, when struck, from his fall and the convulsions of his limbs, and still more from the flow of his blood, they read the future, having belief in this from old and long-continued observance. It is a custom of theirs to do no sacrifice without a philosopher, for it is through them as experienced in the divine nature, as it were people of the same language with the gods, that the thank-offerings, they say, must be made to the gods, and it is through them that they think good things must be asked. Not merely in matters of peace, but also against their enemies, do they especially obey these men, and also the singing poets—not merely do friends obey them, even the enemy will do so. Often when the armies draw near each other in array for battle, with swords drawn and spears in rest, these men advance into the ground between them and stop them just as though taming and charming wild beasts. So among the wildest barbarians passion yields to art and wisdom, and Mars reveres the Muses.

"It is worth while to make clear what is unknown among many. For those that dwell above Marseilles in the interior, and those in the Alps, and further, those who dwell on this side the Pyrennees, they call Celts; those above this Celtica, who inhabit the northern district along the Atlantic and the Hercynian range —all those from there to Scythia, they call *Gauls* (Galatæ.) The

Romans call all these nations collectively Gauls. The women of the Gauls not merely are equal to the men in height, but they also rival them in courage. The children among them are at first white-haired (polia) for the most part, but with advancing years they are transformed to their father's colour of hair. Those that dwell in the north and on the borders of Scythia being the wildest, they say that they eat men, just as also the Britons who inhabit what is called Irin. So much was the fame of their warlike valour and ferocity spread that those who infested all Asia (Minor), then called Cimmerii, are thought to be those now called from length of time Cimbri. Of old they devoted themselves to plundering other people's countries, and despising all others. It was they who took Rome, plundered the temple at Delphi, made tributary a great part of Europe, and no small part of Asia (Minor); on account of their mingling with the Greeks, they were called Gallo-Grecians; in short, they overthrew many large Roman armies. In like manner with the wildness characteristic of them, do they also commit impiety in regard to the sacrifice of the gods. For criminals, kept for five years, they impale on poles in honour of the gods, and with the other first fruits devote them to the gods, preparing huge pyres. They look upon these prisoners in no other light than as victims in honour of the gods. Some also kill the live animals taken in war, along with the men, or burn them, or remove them by some other punishment. They have handsome women; yet some unnatural vices exist. They are wont to sleep on skins of wild beasts on the ground."

Diodorus touches on the inhabitants of Britain too; he says :—

" People say that the races that inhabit Britain are ' Aborigines,' and that they preserve the ancient life in their customs. For they employ chariots for war just as the ancient heroes of Greece are said to have employed in the Trojan war. And they have mean houses constructed of reeds or wood, for the most part. The inbringing of the crops they do thus: they cut off the ears of corn, and stow them in cellars; and then the old ears they each day pluck, and thus prepared they use as food. Their manners are simple and far removed from the cunning and wickedness of our present race. They are satisfied with frugal fare, and far removed from the luxury engendered by riches. The island is populous; it possesses a cold climate, lying, of course, as it does under the polar bear. They have many kings and chiefs, and for the most part they are peacefully disposed to each other."

7

Virgil has left us a picture of the Gauls, as he thought they must have looked at the sacking of Rome ; this is how they appeared on Æneas' shield.—

"The Gauls were at hand marching among the brushwood, and had gained the summit sheltered by the darkness and the kindly grace of dusky night. Golden is their hair and golden their raiment ; striped cloaks gleam on their shoulders ; their milkwhite necks are trimmed with gold ; each brandishes two Alpine javelines, his body guarded by the long oval of his shield."

The striped cloak of Virgil is the prototype of the tartan plaid of the Highlander. The " virgata " of Virgil was used by Buchanan to express " tartan." " Veste gaudent varia ac maxime virgata." That is his description of the dress of the Scottish Highlanders.

Livy has much to say historically of the Gauls, but he only incidentally gives us a glimpse of their character and appearance. They first appear in his 5th book, " burning with indignation, a passion which nationally they are unable to restrain." A generation after the great battle of Allia (390 B.C.), the Gauls were again near Rome ; the armies stood facing each other, and a champion of the Gauls came forth, Goliah-like, to challenge the armies of the " eternal city " to do single combat. The Romans were staggered; the Gaul for a while was unanswered and unopposed, and he proceeded to jeers, and " putting out of his tongue " in mockery at them. " His person was extraordinary in size ; his dress was parti-coloured (tartan); and he shone in arms glittering with colour and with gold." In the Punic wars he tells us Hannibal had Spanish and Gaulish auxiliaries. " The Gauls and Spaniards have shields of about the same shape, but their swords are different in size and purpose. The Gauls have swords that are very long, and without points ; the Spaniard's swords are more adapted for thrusting than slashing or cutting, handy by their shortness, and possessed of sharp ends. . . . The Gauls were stripped naked above the waist for the fight." In B.C. 189, the Consul Manlius came face to face with the Gauls of Asia Minor and found it necessary in view of the terror which the Gauls always inspired in the Romans, and the great fame these Gallo Grecians had in war, to rouse the courage of his men in a speech like this.—

"It does not escape me that of all the nations of Asia the Gauls excel in reputation for war. Midst quite a meek race of men, a nation of high and warlike spirit (ferox natio), after ravaging nigh well the whole earth with war, took possession of a settlement. They have tall persons, long and reddish-coloured

hair, huge shields, long swords (praelongi gladii). Besides, as they begin the fight, they come on with singing, war-whoops, and dancing, and after the national fashion of Gaul, they strike their shields, and rattle in a terrible way their arms, doing everything of set purpose to inspire terror. These things may frighten Greeks and Phrygians, who are unacquainted with them : but we, Romans, accustomed as we are to Gallic 'tumults,' know them to be mere empty show. True, they did once at the first meeting defeat our fathers at Allia ; but ever since then, for the last two hundred years, we have slaughtered, laid them low, and defeated them, gaining more triumphs over them than over the rest of the world. By our long experience we know this fact: If you resist their first onset, which they make in pouring numbers with hot spirit and blind wrath, their limbs are melted away with sweat and fatigue, their arms slip from their hands, their soft bodies and soft courage, once their wrath is cooled, are laid low by the sun, the dust and thirst ; you will not even have to point a weapon against them."

Strabo, the geographer, who lived at the beginning of our era, thus describes the Gauls:—

"The entire race, which now goes by the name of Gallic or Galatic is warlike, passionate, and always ready for fighting, but otherwise simple and not malicious. If irritated, they rush in crowds to the conflict, openly and without any circumspection; and thus are easily vanquished by those who employ stratagem. For anyone may exasperate them when, where, and under what-ever pretext he pleases ; he will always find them ready for danger, with nothing to support them except their violence and daring. Nevertheless they may be easily persuaded to devote themselves to anything useful, and have thus engaged both in science and letters. Their power consists both in the size of their bodies and also in their numbers. Their frankness and simplicity lead them easily to assemble in masses, each one feeling indignant at what appears injustice to his neighbour. At the present time they are all at peace subject to the Romans ; but we have described their customs, as we understand they existed in former times, and as they still exist among the Germans. . . . They march in crowds in one collected army, or rather remove with all their families, whenever they are ejected by a more powerful force. . . All the Gauls are warriors by nature, but they fight better on horseback than on foot, and the flower of the Roman cavalry is drawn from their number. . . . No part of Gaul is unpro-ductive, except where there are swamps or forests, and even these

parts are inhabited, yet rather on account of the populousness than the industry of the people ; for the women are prolific and careful nurses, but the men are better warriors than husbandmen. . . . The Gauls wear saga (mantles), let their hair grow, and use tight trousers. Instead of tunics they wear a slashed garment with sleeves descending below the hips (Μέχρι αἰδοίων καὶ γλουτῶν). The wool is coarse but short (long?); from it they weave the thick sagi which they call 'λαῖναι' (laenæ.) . . . The equipment of the Gauls is in keeping with the size of their bodies ; they have a long sword hanging at their right side, a long shield, and lances in proportion, together with a 'materis' somewhat resembling a javelin. Some of them also use bows and slings ; they have also a wooden weapon resembling a dart, which is hurled, not out of a thong, but from the hand, and goes a further distance even than an arrow. They make use of it chiefly in shooting birds. To the present day most of them lie on the ground, and take their meals seated on straw They subsist principally on milk and all kinds of flesh, especially that of swine, which they eat both fresh and salted. Their swine live in the fields, and surpass in height, strength, and swiftness. To persons unaccustomed to approach them, they are almost as dangerous as wolves. The people dwell in great houses arched, constructed of planks and wicker, and covered with a heavy thatched roof. They have sheep and swine in such abundance that they supply saga and salted pork in plenty, not only to Rome, but to most parts of Italy. Their governments were for the most part aristocratic ; formerly they chose a governor every year, and a military leader was likewise elected by the miltitude. At present they are mostly under sub- jection to the Romans. They have a peculiar custom in their assemblies. If any one makes an uproar or interrupts the speaker, an attendant advances with a drawn sword, and commands him with a menace to be silent ; if he persists, the attendant does the same thing two other times, and finally cuts off from his sagum so large a piece as to render the remainder useless. The labours of the two sexes are distributed in a manner the reverse of what they are with us, but this is a common thing with numerous other barbar- ians. Amongst them all, three classes more especially are held in distinguished veneration, the Bards, the Soothsayers, and the Druids. The bards are chaunters and poets. The Soothsayers are sacrifi- cers and physiologists (students of nature.) The Druids, in addi- tion to physiology, practise ethic philosophy. They are deemed to be most upright, and, in consequence, to them are committed both public and private controversies, insomuch that on some

occasions they decide wars, and stop the combatants on the eve of engaging. Matters partaining to murder are more especially entrusted to their decision, and whenever there is plenty of these, they think there will also be plenty of fertility in the country. These and others say that souls are immortal, and also the world, yet that ultimately fire and water will prevail. To their simplicity and impetuosity are superadded much folly, vain boasting, and love of ornament. They wear gold, having collars of it on their necks, and bracelets on their arms and wrists ; and persons in position are clad in dyed garments, embroidered with gold. This lightness of character makes them intolerable when they conquer, and throws them into consternation when worsted. In addition to their folly, they have a barbarous and absurd custom, common, however, with many nations of the north, of suspending the heads of their enemies from their horses' necks on their return from battle, and, when they have arrived, of nailing them as a spectacle to their gates. Posidonius says he witnessed this in many different places, and was at first shocked, but became familiar with it in time, on account of its frequency. The heads of any illustrious persons they embalm with cedar, exhibit them to strangers, and would not sell them for their weight in gold. However, the Romans put a stop to these customs as well as their modes of sacrifice and divination, which were quite opposite to those sanctioned by our laws. They would strike a man, devoted as an offering, on his back with a sword, and divine from his convulsion throes. Without the Druids they never sacrifice. It is said they have other modes of sacrificing their human victims ; that they shoot some of them with arrows, and crucify others in their temples ; and that they prepare a colossus of hay, with wood thrown over it, into which they put cattle, beasts of all kinds, and men, and then set fire to it."

Of the Britons he says :—" The men are taller than the Celti, with hair less yellow, and slighter in their persons. As an instance of their height, we ourselves saw at Rome some youths who were taller by so much as half a foot than the tallest there ; but they were bowed legged, and in other respects not symmetrical in their conformation. Their manners are in part like those of the Celts, though in part more simple and barbarous ; insomuch that some of them, though possessing plenty of milk, have not skill enough to make cheese, and are totally unacquainted with horticulture and other matters of husbandry. There are several states amongst them. In their wars they make use of chariots for the most part, as do some of the Celts. Forests are their

cities ; for having enclosed an ample space with felled trees, here they make themselves huts and lodge their cattle, though not for any long continuance."

The classical authors need scarcely be followed further than to the middle of the first century of our era, for Rome had by this time spread its sway and its culture over Gaul, and much of the special customs, manners, and institutions of the Gauls had disappeared. Even Strabo has to speak of many things he describes as no longer existent. Druidism, for instance, was abolished under Augustus and his next three successors ; by Druidism are meant the superstition which demanded human sacrifice and the medicine-man priestcraft which interfered with Rome's religious and political prejudices. Later writers, therefore, as a rule, only repeat previous information, and help us little to realise the life of the " Ancient Celt." Pliny, indeed, may be excepted, with his many superstitions and queer customs, which he traces over all the Roman world ; but they are too minute and too numerous to be here quoted with any satisfaction or importance to our subject. He tells us how the Gauls wore in one generation the ring on the middle finger, and the next every finger was loaded with jewellery save that one ; how they learned to dye all kinds of colours " with the juice only of certain herbs ;" and how the Gauls knew something of scientific farming in chalking and marling their land—indeed, they appear to have been good enough farmers as far as knowledge is concerned, though Strabo tells us they were better fighters than husbandman. We may, besides Pliny, quote Ammianus Marcellinus, a writer of the 4th century, who knew the Gauls well, to show the position of women in Gaul :—" Several foreigners together could not wrestle against a single Gaul, if they quarrelled with him, especially if he called for help to his wife, who even exceeds the husband in her strength and in her haggard eyes. She would become especially formidable when swelling her throat, gnashing her teeth, and poising her arms, robust and white as snow, ready to act with feet or fists, she struck out with them with the force of a catapult." A Saturday night in the Irish quarter of any of our largest towns would forcibly remind one of this description. But this approximation of the women to the men in size and strength is a good sign of the advanced state of culture the Gauls were in.

We now sum up the leading points of Celtic manners and customs. The Celts were tall in stature, white-skinned, golden-haired, blue-eyed. They let their hair grow, but shaved the face, leaving only a moustache. They wore trousers and blouses de-

scending to the upper part of the thighs, and over this was cast the mantle or sagum, richly embroidered with gold. They were very fond of colours in their dresses, " flaming and fantastic." They wore personal ornaments like neck-torques, bracelets, and rings. They were agriculturists of no mean calibre : but they had a crofter question, as we see from Cæsar and others ; for the farm- ing class appear to have been much in debt, and practically in the power of the nobles and usurers (negotiator). There is evidence that originally the land belonged to themselves. The advent of the Romans only brought new sources of misery ; for veritable " Sutherland " sheep farms were actually held by Roman nobles and knights. We see this from Cicero's speech for Quintius, for example. They knew manufactures, as we see from Pliny— fabricating serges, cloths, and felts, of great repute. Mines were worked in Southern Gaul, and smith-work carried to much per- fection ; the art of tinning was known, and copper was, for in- stance, plated with silver leaf to ornament horse's trappings, as Pliny vouches. Their food was flesh generally, and pork espe- cially ; their drink was milk, ale, and mead. It is noted by Cicero, Diodorus, and others, that they were inclined to intemperance. In disposition, they were frank, hospitable to strangers, but vain and quarrelsome, fickle in sentiments, and fond of novelties. They were fond of war, hot in attack, but easily discouraged by re- verse. They spoke much in figurative language ; they used Greek letters. They were religious, or rather superstitious, going to fear- ful excesses. Their religion was polytheism of the Greek and Roman style, but they were priest-ridden. In family matters, a son could not publicly appear with his father until of the age to bear arms ; the wife's dowry was equalled by a sum from the husband, which all fell to the survivor. Their funerals were by cre- mation, at least, among the nobles, and were extravagant. In war, they had long iron two-edged swords, adapted for cutting, sheathed in iron scabbards, and suspended to the side by chains. They had spears, whose points were long, broad, and serrated to tear the flesh. They made use of light javelins also, with the bow and sling ; though these weapons are not characteristic of them. Their hel- mets were of metal, ornamented with horns or figures in relief of animals. They carried a large oblong shield, a breastplate of iron, and a coat of mail, which last was a Gaulish invention. They were excellent horsemen ; but earlier the Celts fought in chariots, as they did in Britain at Cæsar's time. They challenged the foe to single combats, and used to hang the heads of the enemy from their horses' neck, carrying them home in triumph to be nailed up

for trophies. Their political system had originally been kingly power, which gave way, as in Greece, to an oligarchy. The oligarchy was the common form in Gaul, as Strabo says, but tyrants were not unknown. They had severe laws passed against anyone who tried to become tyrant, as we see in Orgetorix's case. The oligarchical republics had senates and consuls—the consul among the Ædui being called Vergobretus. They had political parties and chiefships of individuals and states. Their houses were large, dome-shaped, and made of wood. They had towns and villages; plenty of roads and bridges. The ancient Celts were, therefore, as Posidonius had observed, "just like the people in Homer's time," an observation quite true in regard to Britain in Cæsar's time, but the Gauls were rather in the state of Greece before the Persian wars. A wonderful light is reflected by a study of ancient Celtic customs on the heroic tales and legends of ancient Ireland; the tales about Cuchullin and Conchobar exactly reproduce on old Irish soil the life of the ancient Celts ; we see their banquets with their "champion share" and their fights in the Feast of Bricrend ; we see their gorgeous magnificence of person and dress in the Brudin-da-Derga ; and we see them in the various aspects of war in the great Tain-bo-Chuailgne.

(3) LANGUAGE OF THE ANCIENT CELTS.

The language of the ancient Celts has fared worse than their history or their culture. Only a few inscriptions remain to us of the Gaulish language of Cæsar's time and later, and these do not give any satisfactory idea of the state of the language. There are hundreds of Celtic names in the classical authors, but their value in showing the grammatical forms of the language is almost nil. Some words of linguistic significance are handed down by the classical writers; such, for instance, is *petorritum*, "a *four*-wheeled chariot," where *petor* is the Gaulish form for Gaelic-Irish *cethir* "four." This shows that the Gaulish of Cæsar's time was already progressing on different lines from the Goidelic or Gaelic branch ; the Welsh for "four" is *pedwar*. Some centuries previous to the beginning of our era, the two branches of the Celtic speech separated—the Goidelic and Brythonic, to use Professors Rhys' terminology. The *qu* of Italo-Celtic and ancient Celtic times was stiffened by the one into *k*, and by the other—the Brythonic— labialised into *p*. They both agree in dropping almost everywhere the Aryan *p* ; for example, Lat., *plenus* (*full*); Gaelic, *lán* ; Welsh, *llawn*. Some linguistic tendencies must have also been developed in the "Ancient Celtic" period, notably the sinking of

vowel-flanked consonants into "aspirated" forms. The old Gaulish and British, with their descendants, the modern Welsh and Breton, and the lately extinct Cornish, all belong to the Gallic or Brythonic branch of Celtic; the old Irish and old Gaelic with their modern descendants of Ireland, Man, and Scotland belong to the Goidelic or Gaelic branch.

We can here only present results, and the following view of the ancient grammar of the Celtic language is arrived at by examining the laws which regulate the terminations of Gaelic, but more especially of old Irish forms. Thus a "small" vowel like *e* or *i* at the termination of a word forces itself back into the preceding syllable rather than be altogether extinguished. Examples exist in English, as *foot*, with plural *feet* for *fôte* originally; but Gaelic carries this system through most consistently. Thus *bard* (a bard) has genitive singular and nominative plural *baird* for original *bardi*. Gaelic in Scotland has allowed the regressive action of long *a* to affect the preceding syllable, as *clach*, Irish *cloch* for original *cloca*. The terminal *s* and other consonants are restored from the analogy of the classical languages, which also lost them since the commencement of our era. The "restoration" follows Windisch, more especially. "Prehistoric" stands for over two thousands years ago, and is parallel to "Ancient" of Ancient Celts.

Declension of Nouns.

(N.B. –The dual is, for convenience' sake, generally left out.)

(1) Stems originally in *a*.

Masculine.

	Gaelic.	Old Irish.	Pre-historic.
S.N.	fear "a man"...	fer	viras
G.	fir	fir	viri
D.	fear	fiur	viru (viro)
A.	fear	fer n-	viran
V.	'fhir	a fhir	vire (viri)
P.N.	fir	fir	viri
G.	fear	fer n-	viran
D.	fearaibh	feraib	virabis
A.	fir	firu	virūs (virōs)
V.	'fheara	a fhiru	virūs
Dual N. & A.	da fhear	dá fher	vira

8

Feminine.

```
S.N. cas  " foot " .......coss ...............cossa
     G. coise..............coisse..............cossēs
     D. cois ...............coiss..............cossi
     A. cas.................coiss n-........ ...cossin
     V. a chas..........…..a choss...........cossa
P. N. casan...............cossa .......... ...cossās
     G. cas ............…... coss n-............cossan
     D. casaibh...........cossaib ...........cossābis
     A. casan..............cossa .............cossās
     V. a chasa...........a chossa ...........cossās
Dual N. & A. da chois ...........di choiss .........cossi
     G. da chois...........da choss .........cossās
     D. da chois...........dib cossaibh......cossabin
```

Neuter.

```
S. N. & A. sgeul "story" ......scél n-.............scēlan
     G. sgeoil .............sceoil..............scēli
P. N. & A. sgeulan ...........scéla..............scēla
```

Stems in *ia.*
Masculine.

```
S. N. duine " man".....duine..............dunias
     G. duine .............duini .............dunii
     D. duine..............duiniu.............duniu
     A. duine..............duine n-...........dunian
     V. a dhuine ..........a duini...........dunii
P. N. daoine ......…........doini......….........dunii
          &c.               &c.              &c.
```

Feminine.

```
S. N. guidhe............gude (guide)......gudia
     G. guidhe............guide..............gudiēs
     D. guidhe............guidi..............gudii
P. N. gnidheachan......guidi .............guidīs
          &c.           &c.              &c.
```

Neuter.

```
S. N. cridhe  " heart " cride n-............cridian
     G. cridhe.............cridi..............cridii
     D. cridhe.............cridiu.............cridiu
P. N. cridheachan........cride .............cridia
          &c.             &c.              &c.
```

(2) Stems originally in *i*.
Masculine and feminine.

S. N. súil (eye).........súil...............sulis
G. súla...............súla...............sulaos (ajas)
D. súil...............súil .... suli
A. súil...............súil n- ....sulin
V. a shúil...........a shuil...........suli
P. N. súilean...........súli...............suleis
G. súil...............súle n-....... ....sulean
D. súilibh...........súlib.............sulibis
A súilean ....súli...............sulīs
V. a shúilean........a shúli...........sulīs

Dual N. & A. da shúil........... dí shúil ....suli (ī)
G. da shúla...........dá súla...........sulaos
D. da shúil...........dib súlib.........sulibin

Neuter.
S. N. & A. muir "sea".......muir...............mori
G. mara ....mora...............moraos
P. N. & A. marannan.........mora ....moraja

(3) Stems in *u*.

S. N. gniomh "deed"gnim (masc.).....gnimus
G. gniomha...........gnima.......... ...gnimaos (avos)
P. N. gniomhan (aran) gnimai...........gnimavis
A. gniomhan........gnimu ....gnimūs

S. N. dorus "door"dorus (neut.).....dorastu
G. doruis.............dorais.............dorastaos
P. A. dorsan.............dorsi.............dorasteva

(4) Consonant Stems.
(*a*) Family names in *r*.

S. N. máthair"mother"máthir............matēr
G. máthar ....máthar...........materas
D. máthair...........máthir............materi
A. máthair...........máthir n-.........materin
V. a mháthair.......a máthir...........mater
P. N. máthraichean....máthir............materis
G. máthraichean.....máthre n-.........materan
D. máthraichean....máithrib..........materabis
A. máthraichean.....máithrea..........materās
V. a mháthraichean.a máithrea........materas

(b.) Dental Stems.

```
S. N. braighe "neck"...brage..............bragents
   G. braghad...........braget............bragentas
   D. braghad...........bragait............bragenti
   A. braighe...........bragit n-...........bragentin
P. N. braghadan.......bragit..............bragentis
   G. braghadan........braget n-..........bragentan
   D. braghadan .......braigtib ...........bragentibis
   A. braghadan .......braigtea ..........bragentas
```

(c.) Guttural Stems.

```
S. N. nathair "viper"...nathir.............natrix
   G. nathrach..........nathrach..........natracas
   D. nathair......... nathraig...........natraci
   A. nathair...........nathraig n-.......natracin
   V. a nathair .........nathir.............natrix
P. N. nathraichean.....nathraig...........natracis
   G. nathraichean.....nathrach n- ......natracan
   D. nathraichean .....nathrachaib......natracabis
   A. nathraichean.....nathracha ........natracas
Dual N. & A. da nathair ........da nathraig.......natrace
   G. da nathair ........da nathrach......natracas
   D. da nathair ........dib nathrachaib..natracabin
```

(d.) Stems in *n* and *man*.

```
S. N. gobha " smith"...goba..............gobas
   G. gobhainn..........gobann............gobannas
   D. gobhainn..........gobainn...........gobanni
P. N. goibhnean........gobainn...........gobannis
          &c.              &c.              &c.
```

```
S. N. Alba"Scotland"..Alba ..............Albans (Albā)
   G. Albainn...........Alban ............Albanas
   D. Albainn...........Albain............Albani
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```
S. N. britheamh ... ....brithem...........britema
   G. britheimh ........britheman.. ......britemanas
   D. britheamh........brithemain........britemani
   A. britheamh ........brithemain n-....britemanin
   V. a bhritheimh .....brithem...........britemin
P. N. britheamhnan....brithemain........britemanis
          &c.              &c.              &c.
```

Neuters in *man*.

```
S. N. & A. ainm "name".....ainm n-............anmen
           G. ainme.............anme (a).........anmanas
           D. ainm..............anmaimm ........anmanmi (?)
P. N. & A. ainmeannan......anmann...........anmana
              &c.              &c.             &c.
```

(e.) Neuter Stems in *as*.

```
S. N. tigh "house".....teg (tech.).........tegas
   G. tighe..............tige..............tegeas (tegesas)
   D. tigh...............tig................tigi (tegesi)
P. N. tighean.........tige...............tegea (tegesa)
         &c.             &c.             &c.
```

Declension of the Article.

```
S. N., M. an, am, an t-......in, in t-............santas
          F. an, a', an t-.......in, ind, in t-......santa
          N. ........ ...........a n-...............san
S. G., M. & N. an, a', an t-.......in, ind, in t-......santi
          F. na, na h-..........inna, na...........santās
S. D., M. & N. an, a' an t-.......don, dond, don t-.santu
          F. as *mas*.............as *mas* ...........santi
    S. A., M. as *nom*.............in n-...............santan
          F. as *nom*.............in n-...............santin
          N. .....................a n- ...............san
    P. N., M. na, na h-..........in ind, in t- ......santi
          F. na, na h-..........inna, na...........santās
          N. .....................inna, na...........santa
       P. G. nan, nam.........inna, na n-.......santan
       P. D. na, na h-..........donaib............santabis
                                          ⎧ santōs, M.
       P. A. as *nom*............inna. ...........⎨ santās, F.
                                          ⎩ santa,  N.
Dual N., M. an da (*the two*)...in da..............santa dvā
          F. an da...............in dí..............santi dvī (dvei)
          N. .....................in da..............santa dvā
          G. (all genders)an da.in da ..............santās dvās
          D. an da ..............in dib n-..........santabin dvebin
```

Numerals.

```
N. M. tri "three"........trí.................trīs (treis)
   F. tri .................teoir..............tesoris
   N. ... .................trí.................trī
```

G. M. and N. tri.................trìn...............trijan
          F. tri.................teora n-...........tesoran
D. M. and N. tri ....trib...............tribis
          F. tri ....teoraib...........tesorabis
      N. M. ceithir " four" ...cethir ....cetaris (as)
          F. ceithir............cetheoir ....cetesoris (as)
      N. ....cethir ....cetaria
          coig " five" ......cóic................cōci (quence)
          sia " six" ....sé ....sex
          seachd "seven" .secht n- ....sectan
          ochd "eight"....ocht n-, oct ....octan (octa?)
          naoi "nine".......nói n-...........novin
          deich " ten"..... deich n-...........decin
          fichead "twenty"fiche, *pl.* fichit ...vicents, *plural*
                                                    vicentis
          ciad, ceud " hun-
             dred ".........cét (cét n-).........canton

Conjugation of Verb.

Active Voice.

Indicative—Present.

S. 1. beiridh mi "I will
          bear"...........berium............berim-mi
    2. beiridh tu ....beri ....beresi
    3. | beiridh | e... · | berid | · · | bereti
       | beireas | | *rel.* beres | | *rel.* beret-ja (?)
P. 1. beiridh sinn ......bermme...........berim-nis
    2. beiridh sibh .....berthe ....beritīs
    3. { beiridh | iad... | berit | ...beranti
       { beireas | | *rel.* berte |

After Particles.

S. 1. (cha) bheir mi ...do-biur...........beru (o)
    2. bheir thu ....do-bir ....beris
    3. bheir e ....do-beir............berit
P. 1. bheir sinn. ....do-beram ....beramas
    2. bheir sibh.........do-berid ....bereti
    3. bheir iad ....do-berat..........berant

Indicative—Present Secondary.

S. 1. bheirinn "I would
          bear"...........no berinn.........berimīn
    2. bheireadh tu......no bertha.........beretaso
    3. bheireadh e.......no bered ....bereta (o)

Indicative—Present Secondary.—Continued.

P. 1. bheireamaid......no bermmis.......berim-mi-ss (nt)
   2. bheireadh sibh...no berthe.........beritīs (?)
   3. bheireadh iad....no bertis.........beri-ti-ss (?)

Indicative—Past.

S. 1. chan mi " I said".cechan............cecana
   2. chan thu..........cechan............cecanas
   3. chan e............cechuin...........cecane
P. 1. chan sinn.........cechnammar.....
   2. chan sibh.........cechnaid..........cecnate
   3. chan iad..........cechnatar........

Imperative.

S. 1. beiream   (really
      1st pres.).....
   2. beir ....beir   } ....beri (e) }
                berthe } ....berited }
   3. beireadh e........berad ....beratu
P. 1. beireamaid........beram ....
   2. beiribh............berid..............bereti (e)
   3. beireadh iad......berat.............berantu

Infinitive.

N. & A. beirsinn..........bersiu (old Gael.)bersiu
    G. beirsinn..........bersen ....bersinas
    D. beirsinn ....bersin...........bersini
    A. beirsinn ....bersin n-..........bersinin

Passive Voice.

Indicative—Present.

S. 1. beirear mi " I shall
      be born"......nom berar-sa......
   2. beirear thu ....not berar-su......
   3. beirear e..........beir ....bertur
P. 1. beirear sinn ......non berar-ni......
   2. beirear sibh ......nob berar-si......
   3. beirear iad........bertir ....berantur

Indicative—Secondary Present.

S. 3. bheirteadh e(subj)no berthe........
P. 3. bheirteadh iad...no bertis.........

Indicative—Past.

S. 3. chanadh ....ro chét............cantas (*part. pass.*)
P. 3. chanadh ....ro chéta ....cantās (*p. p. fem.*)

Participle.

cainte " said".....cete...............cantas, a, **an**

Prepositions.

mu " about"..................imb...................ambi
ath-, aith-, "again" ....aith-..................ati
a, as, " out".................a, ass.................ax
o, bho, " from"...............o, ua.................ava
eadar, "between"............eter....................enter
gu, " to".....................co.....................co, cot
gu, 'with' (with adjectives).co, co n-...............con
air, " on" ....ar } ....(p)ara
                             for } ....u(p)ari
an, " in" ....i, i n-..................in

THE BOOK OF DEER.

The Book of Deer was discovered in 1860 by Mr Bradshaw, the librarian of the Cambridge University. It had lain unnoticed in the library of that University since its purchase in 1715, among the rest of the books of John Moore, Bishop of Ely. Its history, previous to Dr Moore's possession of it, is unknown; but that it was once—in the eleventh and twelfth centuries—in the Columban Monastery of Deer, in Aberdeenshire, is a fact testified by the book itself in a manner that can admit of no doubt.

The book consists of 86 parchment leaves, which are six inches long and four and a-half broad. Its contents are the Gospel of St John complete, preceded by portions of the other three evangelists, viz., the first seven chapters of Matthew, the first five of Mark, and the first three of Luke. These are all in the Latin text of St Jerome. Besides these, there is between the fragments of Mark and Luke part of an office for visitation of the sick, in a later hand, and containing one line of Old Irish rubric; and the manuscript ends, in the same handwriting as the gospels, with the Apostles' Creed and an Old Irish colophon, which asks a blessing on the soul of the "truaghan" (wretch), who wrote the book, from every reader of it. These were the full contents of the original manuscript, and experts in the handwriting of Irish manuscripts ascribe its composition to the ninth century of our era. The book, of course, is written in what is called the Irish character, which is merely a modification, like all other so-called national alphabets of Western Europe, of the Roman writing; Irish writing is descended from the Gallo-Roman cursive handwriting of the fifth century, introduced with Christianity. The writing of the MS. is good throughout, and there are illuminated figures of the

four evangelists, separately, and in groups, while the initial letter of each gospel is enlarged, illuminated, and ornamented.

But what makes the book of importance to the Gael of Scotland formed no part of its original contents. It is the Gaelic entries of grants of land made to the Monastery of Deer in the eleventh and twelfth centuries that make the book of supreme value to us; for we shall find reason to believe that the Gaelic of the grants represents fully the Gaelic of the Scottish Highlands at the time. These Gaelic entries occur on the blank pages and margins of the earlier part of the book; they commence on the first side of leaf three, immediately after the prologue (first 17 verses) to St Matthew ends. Here the legend of the founding of Deer with the first record of grant is told and continued on the other side of the same leaf, which was all blank originally. The second of the records of grants commences on the same page, and is continued on the first side of leaf four, which was also originally blank. In a different ink and handwriting, the third of the entries of grants is commenced at the middle of that page, and a short fourth entry concludes the page. On the other side of leaf four there was originally a representation of St Matthew, set in a rectangular frame of interlaced Z pattern, and round the margins of this picture, in brilliant black ink and different handwriting apparently from either of the previous entries, we find entry number five; and the sixth entry surrounds the margin of the first page of leaf five, in the same faded ink as entries three and four, but in a different handwriting. The next entry, passing over blank pages on leaves 15 and 16, is the record of a charter in Latin by King David (1124-1153), at leaf 40, which implies that the rest of the entries had already been made, for it declares the Clerics of Deer free from all lay interference and undue exaction, "as it is written in their book."

These entries are important, not merely linguistically, but also historically. They throw an important side-light on the political, social, and ecclesiastical machinery of the time, as well as being the only specimen of Old Scotch Gaelic extant; for the next Scotch Gaelic work, uninspired from Irish sources to any very large extent, is the Dean of Lismore's book (1512), fully four hundred years later. The historical interest of the entries consists, firstly, in their form; they are mere records of grants of land, and even the formal charter of King David is here given only in copied form. The first two entries make no mention of witnesses; it is only with the third entry that Nectan, first Bishop of Aberdeen, and others, appear as witnesses recorded of

the gift made. Hence we find in the Book of Deer a pre-charter and pre-feudal period; verbal grants before witnesses, with possibly some conveyance of a sign, such as a branch, from the giver to the receiver, were all that was necessary until the feudalising tendencies of the sons of the Saxon Queen Margaret abolished these primitive customs. Secondly, these entries throw light on the state of the Church and its history. The Monastery of Deer was a Columban one; it was founded in a far-away corner of Pictland; and the Picts and their kings had in the eighth century shown no particular favour to the Columban monastries, when King Nectan and his successors had fully conformed with Rome. The history of these monasteries, even in Ireland, was a chequered one. Columba's system of Church government was altogether monastic; each tribe or *tuath* had a monastery, for there were no parishes, but only this large tribal district with one monastery, from which, as centre, the monks ministered to the remotest parts. The abbot of the monastery usually belonged to a leading family of the *tuath*, and in that family the office was hereditary; or the office might be hereditary in the family of the founder, as was the case with Iona, which was hereditary in the family from which Columba sprung. In course of time this system gave rise to great abuses; the monastery grew rich in lands, and the energies of the abbot, or some other leading officer, were directed to temporal rather than spiritual management. In fact, latterly, he became a mere layman, holding the abbacy in his family by direct descent, and, delegating his clerical duties to a monk, he himself took to rearing a family in which the monastic lands were hereditary Crinan, lay abbot of Dunkeld, for example, was a king's son-in-law, and also a king's father —father of the unfortunate King Duncan. The abuses of these lay abbacies were never properly remedied, but they were checked by Queen Margaret and her sons through the creation of the bishoprics, and the gradual supersession of the monastic by the parochial system. It is quite a common thing, consequently, to read of the refounding of an ancient abbacy, whereby lands are given afresh to the monastery which had lost them by their passing into secular hands. The Monastery of Deer would appear to have undergone this transformation; it was probably founded in the seventh century; it would run its first course of usefulness, and then come into secular hands, drifting finally into poverty and neglect; and then, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, we have it refounded and reinstated in its lands. The remembrance of its period of distress comes out clearly in these entries : " Who-

soever shall go against it, let him not be many-yeared or victorious,"
says Columba, according to the legend ; and in another one, " His
blessing on every one who shall fulfil this after him, and his curse
on every one who shall go against it."

Again, we get a glimpse of the political and social systems of
the time. The Ardri, or Chief King, rules the leading—seven
originally—provinces of Scotia ; under him immediately and over
these provinces are the Mormaers, that is, the Earls of later times ;
and under the jurisdiction of the Mormaers are the tribal or dis-
trict chieftains, called the Tosechs (chiefs), known among the
Saxons as Thanes. All these three grades of power had their
"exactions" out of the land, besides having their own manor
land ; they had rights of personal service, civil and military, of
entertainment when travelling, and of exacting rent in kind or in
money. These are the "lay exactions" referred to in the entries
in the Book of Deer. The somewhat bewildering succession of
names in the entries is also of interest ; sons do not often succeed
fathers, and brothers are preferred to children. This points to
surviving Pictish influence in the succession, where succession was
in the female line. The mentioning of the daughter along with
her husband as granting lands conjointly, shows the husband's right
rested on the female alliance.

The most important point in connection with the Book of
Deer is this : Are the entries couched in the vernacular Gaelic
of Scotland at the time ? We have been often disappointed
with our numerous MSS. turning out after all to be merely Irish
Gaelic, and we have our oldest printed books and other documents
couched in the same Irish tongue and style, such as Bishop
Carswell's " Prayer Book," and other works for Church services ;
so much has this been the case that the burden of proof must rest
with suspicious weight on the person who asserts that Old Scotch
Gaelic exists in any document at all. The Book of the Dean of Lis-
more is allowed on all hands to be Scotch Gaelic ; it was produced
at a period favourable to the rise of independent literature and
style of writing ; the sixteenth century was remarkable all over
Europe, but in Scotland it saw the decay for a time of the Irish
influence over our literature, a decay brought about by the fall of
the Gaelic "Kingdom of the Isles," which had strongly knit
together Ireland and the Highlands for over three hundred years.
Before the sixteenth century we look in vain for a trace of litera-
ture or record in Scotch Gaelic, save in this Book of Deer, and we
shall find that the circumstances which produced that book were
also such as favoured, nay, necessitated, native Scotch Gaelic.

Deer, in the first place, was about the remotest of Gaelic mon-
asteries from Ireland ; the country was that of the Picts, who had
asserted a sort of independence in Church matters, and developed
antagonism to the Irish "Columbanism." The Danes and the
Northmen had further added to this estrangement by their intru-
sion between the two countries. They also destroyed Iona, and
compelled the Church to accept Dunkeld as the chief abbatial
centre. Scotland was, since Malcolm Canmore, becoming a
kingdom, independent of English and Irish influences in State
and in Church, and the establishment of bishoprics by Kings
Alexander and David freed the Scotch Church from England and
Ireland both. If, therefore, a native Gaelic literature could arise,
surely the 12th century was a most suitable time for it. Again,
let us note that the literature of the Book of Deer is of a thoroughly
practical kind ; it is for business purposes, and the Gaelic of the
district must have been used ; for the intention of the entries is to
prove claims against Mormaers and Tosechs, who might arise and
" know not Joseph." All these arguments make it *a priori* highly
probable that the book should be in Scotch Gaelic. And the con-
tents of the book fully prove the truth of such deductive argumenta-
tion. For the Gaelic differs in spirit and even in form from the
Irish Gaelic of the same period. The two Gaelics—Irish and
Scotch—could not have been very different at that time in any
case, at least as spoken languages. Irish had been a literary
language for some centuries previous to this, and, as such,
we cannot trust that it exactly represents the popular lan-
guage of the date at which it was written. The Scotch Gaelic,
while keeping to the general style of spelling and writing
which the Irish had, was not weighted by precedent and liter-
ary forms of bygone times ; it consequently adapted itself
to the time and locality in which it was produced. Hence it
is that the Gaelic of the Book of Deer, as compared with the
Gaelic of " Lebor na h-Uidri," the oldest Irish literary manu-
script, composed about 1100, and, therefore, of nearly the same
age, has the appearance of a descendant that is two or three cen-
turies later. In fact, the Gaelic is well advanced in what is called
" Middle Irish ;" there is the same confusion of vowels if ending
words—as *i* for *e* ; the sinking of *c* and *t* to *g* and *d* ; and the as-
similation of *ld* and *ln* to *ll*. There are touches, however, of
antiquity, as, for instance, in the use of the infixed pronouns—
that is, the pronoun is placed between the particle, or prefix, and
the verb. But the departure from all Irish lines are the most im-
portant and most remarkable facts. The spelling, though it is on

the whole cast in the same moulds, has some local peculiarities. Thus *cc* is written for *ch*; this doubling of the consonants to show aspiration is unknown in the Gaelic languages, though common in the Brythonic tongues. The aspirated *d* or *g* is dropped as in *blienec;* so we learn also from Jocelyn (1180), that the Gaelic pronunciation of *tighearn* was at that time *tyern;* now the Irish at the time was *tigerna.* But the most marked Scotch tendency is the way in which the *n* of the proposition *in* is dealt with. While *n* disappears in early Irish before *s* and *p*, we have in the Book of Deer the thoroughly Gaelic method of keeping it; thus we find *in-saere, in-pett (dan-sil);* while a tendency of a middle Irish type for " eclipsis" appears in *ib-bidbin* for *im-bidbin* and *ig-ginn* for *in-cinn.* The absence of the orthodox spelling rule known as "broad to broad and small to small," forced on Scotch Gaelic from Ireland, is in the Book of Deer most marked, hence forming a powerful link in our chain of evidence. On the whole, then, there is a modern air—an air of posterity—about the Gaelic of the Book of Deer, as compared with contemporary Irish, and certain tendencies are displayed which nowadays characterise the Scotch Gaelic only, as compared with the Irish; so that we are quite warranted in accepting the book as containing genuine Scotch Gaelic of the time.

In so concluding, we have the authority of the two greatest living Irish scholars—Stokes and Windisch. The latter in his "Celtic Speeches," says—"The oldest source for Scottish Gaelic is the Book of Deer. . . . . The manner of expression, words and forms, are as in the Irish, but the manner of writing shows already a stronger phonetic decay, whether it be that the Scotch Gaelic has lived faster or that only the manner of writing has remained less ancient, and has fitted itself more exactly to the pronunciation of the time." And the next "source," he informs us, is the Book of the Dean of Lismore; for the previous MSS., are all of Irish origin, character, and inspiration.

There are two editions of the Gaelic of the Book of Deer; one was published, Latin and Gaelic complete, with facsimile pages, in 1869 by the Spalding Club, under the editorship of Dr Stuart. The English translation was by Mr Stokes, who has himself given an edition of the Gaelic, with translation, notes, and vocabulary, in his "Goidelica." To both of these I am indebted; to Dr Stuart for the text, and to Mr Stokes for assistance in translation and notes.

As to the Orthography, there are many contractions in the MS., such as those for *m* or *n* and *r*, and the contraction *mc* for

mac. These contractions are filled out in our text, but they are put in italics. The spelling is on the whole wonderfully consistent throughout, but the accent marks, which do not mean accent at all, but only quantity, are irregular. The most errant word in its spelling is *tosech* ; next come *achad, cathraig, Cainnech, Columcille, mec* and *meic, petir* (gen.), *pet, saere, ua* and *o.* In regard to the accents, the MS. is scrupulously followed in every peculiarity, but it is found impossible to reproduce some accents that are placed over consonants, whether by accident or design is doubtful. What may be design appears in the accentation mark placed over some double consonants, notably *nn* ; as óhúnn (I 19), proinn (II 19), cainnech (II 20, 22) ; while *cc* has accent on the first *c* at I 19 (íma*cc* and on *m* here) and on second *c* at III 2 (pet-me*cc*obrig). At · I 10 we read "robomareb," where the *e* is emphasised by accent and dots above and below. The word *slánte* of I 12 has an acccent on the *t,* evidently meant for the *e.* In diphthongs, like *ai* at II 3 and 4, it is often hard to say whether the accent is meant for the *a* or the *i.*

Note that the ink and handwriting of what is within brackets at II 26 shows it to have been written by the writer of Entry III, and lines 25 and 26 of Entry V are in the ink and writing of VI.

The lines of the original MS. are followed in presenting the Gaelic text, and, for the reader's convenience, the translation is given line for line on the opposite page.

(1) THE TEXT.

I.

[*Fol.* 3, *First Side, Middle.*]

1. Columcille acus drostán mac cósgreg adálta
   tangator áhí marroalseg día dóib go
   níc abbordobóir acus béde cruthnec robomor

   mær búchan aragínn acus essé rothídnaíg dóib
5. ingathráig sáin insaere gobraíth ómormáer
   acus óthóséc. tangator asááthle sen incathraig
   ele acus doráten ricolumcille sí iarfallán dóráth

   dé acus dorodloeg arinmormæer . i. bédé gondas
   tabrád dó acus níthárat acus rogab mac dó galár
10. iarnéré nagleréc acus robomaréb act mádbec
   iarsén dochuid inmormaer dattác naglerec góndéndæs

[*Fol.* 3, *Second Side.*]

   ernacde les inmac gondísad slánté dó acus dórat
   inedbáirt dóib úácloic intiprat goníce chlóic pette
   meic garnáit doronsat innernacde acus taníc
15. slante dó ; Iarsén dorat collumcille dódros
   tán inchadráig sen acus rosbenact acus foracaib im'bre
   ther gebe tisad ris nabad blienec buadacc tán
   gator déara drostán arscartháin fri collumcille
19. rolaboir columcille bedéar áním óhúnn ímaic ;

II.

[*Fol.* 3, *Second Side, near Middle.*]

1. Cómgeall mac éda dórat úaorti níce fúrené
   docolumcille acus dodrostán. Moridac mac morcunn.
   dorat pett meic garnáit acus áchád toche temní.
   acus bahé robomormáir acus robothosec. Matáin
5. mac caerill dorat cuit mormoir inálteri acus culn mac
   batín dorat cúit tóiség. Domnall mac gíric
   acus malbrigte mac chathail dorat pett inmulenn.
   dodrostán. Cathal mac morcunt dorat áchád
   naglerec dodrostán. Domnall mac rúadri acus
10. malcolum mac culeón doratsat bidbín dó día acus dó
   drostán. Malcoloum mac cinathá dorat cúit
   ríig íbbidbín acus in pett meic gobróig acus dá dabég
   uactaír rósábard. Malcolum mac moilbrigte
   dorat indelerc. Málsnecte mac lulóig dorat

(2) THE TRANSLATION.

I.

1. Columcille and Drostan, son of Cosgrach, his pupil,
came from Hi, as God had shewn to them, unto
Aberdour, and Bede (the) Pict was Mormaer
of Buchan before them, and it is he that bestowed on them
5. that town in freedom for ever from Mormaer
and from Toisech. They came after that to the other town
and it was pleasing to Columcille, for it was full of the grace
of God, and he asked of the Mormaer, viz., Bede that he should
give it him, and he did not give it, and a son of his took
illness
10. after the refusal of the clerics, and he was all but dead.
Thereafter the Mormaer went to entreat of the clerics that
they should make
prayer by the son that health should come to him, and he gave
in offering to them from the Stone of the Well to the Stone
of the Farm
(Piece) of Garnat's son (Pett-mic-Garnait). They made the
prayer and there came
15. health to him. Thereafter Columcille gave to Drostan
that town, and blessed it, and left the saying:
"Whoever should come against it, let him not be many-
yeared, victorious."
Drostan's tears came on parting with Columcille;
19. Columcille said : " Be Dear its name from hence forth."

II.

1. Comgeall, son of Aed, gave from Orti unto Furene
to Columcille and to Drostan. Moridac, son of Morcunn,
gave Pett-mic-Garnait and (the) field Toche Temni.
And it was he was Mormaer and was Toisech. Matain,
5. son of Caerill, gave the share of Mormaer in Alteri ; and
Culn, son
of Batin, gave the share of Toisech. Domnall, son of Giric,
and Malbrigte, son of Cathal, gave Milltown (Pett-in-Mulenn)
to Drostan. Cathal, son of Morcunt, gave the Field of
the Clerics to Drostan. Domnall, son of Ruadri, and
10. Malcolm, son of Culeon, gave Bidbin to God and to
Drostan. Malcolm, son of Cinaed, gave the share of
King in Bidbin and in Pett-mic-Gobrig and two *davachs*
of Upper Rosabard. Malcolm, son of Malbrigte,
gave the Delerc. Malsnecte, son of Lulach, gave

15. pett maldúib dó drostán ; Domnall mac meic
    dubbacín robáith nahúle edbarta rodros
    tán arthabárt áhule dó.   robáith cathál
    árachóir chetna acuitíd thoisíg acus dorat
    próinn chét cecnolloce acus ceccasc dó día
20. acus dó drostán.   Cainnech mac meic dobarcon
    Acus cathál doratsator alterín alla úethé
    na camone (?) gonice in béith edarda álterin ;
    Dorat domnall acus cathál étdanin
    dó dia acus do drostán.   Robaith Cainnec
25. acus domnall acus cathál nahúle edbarta ri
    día acus rí drostan óthósach [goderad issære omórmaer acus
        othesech culaithi brátha]

III.

1. Gartnait mac cannech acus éte ingengillemcchel
   dóratsat petmeccobrig ricosecrad éclasi
   críst acus petir abstoil acus docolumcille acus dodrostan
   sér ónáhulib dolodib cónánascad dócórmac
5. éscob dunicallenn.   innócmad blíádin rígi dabid
   Testibus istis. néctan escob abberdeon. acus léot áb brecini
   acus máledonni mac meic b ead. acus álgune mac árcill. acus
       rúad
   ri mórmar márr acus matadin bríthem. acus gillecríst
   mac córmaic. acus malpetir mac domnaill. acus domongart
10. ferleginn turbruad. acus gillecolaim mac muredig. acus dub
    ni mac mál colaim.

IV.

1. Dorat gartnait acus ingengillemicel báll dómin ipet ipáir
                    docrist acus docolimcilli acus dodrostan
2 Teste . gillecalline sacart . acus feradac mac málbrícin. acus mal
                    girc mac tralin.

Pre V.

1. acus bennact inchomded arcecmormar acus ar
2. cectosech chomallfas acus dansil daneis.

V.

1. Donchad mac mec bead mec hídid dorat acchad madchór docrist
5. acus dodrostan acus docholuimcille insóre gobrád malechí
   acus cómgell acus gillecríst mac fingúni

15. Pett-Maldub to Drostan. Domnal, son of Mac
    Dubbacin, dedicated all the offerings to Drostan,
    giving the whole to him. Cathal dedicated
    in the same way his Toisech's share, and gave
    a dinner of a hundred each Christmas and each Easter to God
20. and to Drostan. Cainnech, son of MacDobarcon,
    and Cathal gave *Alterin-alla-uethe*
    ne-camone unto the birch between (the) two Alterins.
    Domnall and Cathal gave Etdanin.
    to God and to Drostan. Cainnec dedicated
25. and Domnall and Cathal all the offerings to
    God and to Drostan, from beginning to end, in freedom
        from Mormaer and from Toisech till doom's day.

III.

1. Gartnait, son of Cannech, and Ete, Daughter of Gille-Michel,
   gave Pet-mec-Cobrig for the consecration of a Church
   of Christ, and Peter (the) Apostle, and to Columcille, and to
   Drostan,
   free from all exactions, with the gift of them to Cormac
5. Bishop of Dunkeld in the eighth year of David's reign.
   Testibus istis, Nectan, Bishop of Aberdeen, and Leot, Abbot
       of Brechin
   and Maledonni, son of Mac-Bead, and Algune, son of Arcill,
       and Ruadri,
   Mormaer of Mar, and Matadin, Judge, and Gillecrist,
   son of Cormac and Malpeter, son of Domnall, and Domongart,
10. Reader of Turriff, and Gille-colaim, son of Muredach and
    Dubni, son of Mal-colaim.

IV.

1. Gartnait and Gillemichel's daughter gave Ball-Domin in Pet-
       Ipair to Christ and to Columcille, and to Drostan.
2. *Teste*, Gillecalline, Priest, and Feradac, son of Malbricin, and
       Malgirc, son of Tralin.

Pre V.

1. And the blessing of the Lord on each Mormaer, and on
   each Toisech who will fulfil (it), and to their seed after them.

V.

1. Donchad, son of MacBead, son of Hidid, gave Achad-Madchor
       to Christ
5. and to Drostan and to Columcille in freedom for ever:
    Malechi and Comgell and Gillecrist, son of Fingune

10. i*nn*áienasi *intestus.* acus malcoluim m*a*c molíní.   Cormac m*a*c
    cennedig dorat goníge scá
15. li merlec.   Comgell m*a*c cáennaig táesec clande canan dórat
    doc*rist* acus
20. dodrostán acus dócholuim cille gonige i*n*gort lie mór iggi*n*n
24. infius isnesu daldín alen*n* ódubucí gólurchárí etarsliab acus
    achad.
25. [issaeri othesseach cul)ráth acus abennacht arcachén chomallfas
26. araes cubrath acus amallacht arcachén ticfa ris.]
                          VI.
              [*Fol. 5, Side and Bottom Margins.*]
  1. Robaid colbain morm*æ*r buchan acus eua i*n*gen gar
  5. tnait aben phústa acus donnachac m*a*c sithig t*œ*sech clenni
10. morgain*n* nahuli edbarta rí día acus ridrostan acus riacolum
15. cilli acus rípetar apstal onahulib dolaidib archuit cetri
20. dabach do nithíssad arardmandaidib alban   cucotchenn
25. acus arhardchellaib.   tes*tibus* his brocein acus corm*a*c abb tur
30. bruaid acus morgunn m*a*c donnch
32. id acus gilli petair m*a*c donnchaid acus mal*æ*chín acus da
                     m*a*c matni
33. acus mathe buchan huli naiaidnaisse in helaín :—

DAVID'S CHARTER (D.C.)

Dauid . rex scottor*um* omnib*us* probis hom*in*ibus suis. salutes.
Sciatis quod clerici. dedér.   su*n*t quieti etimmunes abomni laic-
or*um* officio . etexactione i*n*debita sic*ut* inlibro eorum scribtum est.
etdirationauer*unt* ap*ud* . bánb . etiurauer*unt* ap*ud* abb*er*deon . qua-
propter firmit*er* precipio . utnullus eis . aut eorum catellis . aliquam
i*n*juriam inferre pr*æ*sumat.   T*este* gregor*io* ep*iscop*o. deduncallden.
T*este* andrea ep*iscop*o. decat*ness*.   T*este* samsone ep*iscop*o. debre*chin*.
Teste doncado comite. defib . etmalmori. dathótla. et ggillebrite.
comite. déng*us*. et ghgillcom*d*ed. mac aed. et brocin. et cormac.
det*ur*brud. et ada*m*. mac. ferdomnac. et gillendrias. mac. mátni.
apud. abb*er*deon.

              THE OLD IRISH RUBRIC.

Hisund dub*eir* sacorfaic dau
" Here thou givest Host to him."

              THE OLD IRISH COLOPHON.

Forchubus caich duini imbia arrath inleb
rán collí.   aratardda bendacht foran
main intruagáin rodscribai.
" On the conscience of every man in whom shall be for grace the
    booklet with splendour, that he give a blessing on the
    soul of the wretchock who wrote it."

10. in witness thereof, in testimony, and Malcolm, son of Moline.
    Cormac, son of Cennedig, gave as far as
15. Scale-Merlec. Comgell, son of Caennig, Toisech of Clan
    Canan gave to Christ, and
20. to Drostan and to Columcille as far as the Gort-lie-Mor at
    the head of
24. the Pius (?) which is nearest Aldin Alenn from Dubuci to
    Lurchari between mountain and field
25. in freedom from Toisech for ever and his blessing on each
    one that will fulfil (it)
26. after him for ever, and his curse on each who will come
    against it.

VI.

1. Colbain, Mormaer of Buchan, and Eva, daughter of Gartnait,
5. his wedded wife, and Donnachac, son of Sithech, Toisech of
    Clan
10. Morgann, dedicated all the offerings to God, and to Drostan,
    and to Columcille
15. and to Peter the Apostle from all exactions on a share of four
20. *davachs* of what would come on the chief residences [monas-
    teries] of Scotland generally
25. and on her chief churches. *Testibus his*, Brocein, and
    Cormac, Abbot of Turriff,
30. and Morgunn, son of Donnchad,
32. and Gilli-Peter, son of Donnchad, and Malaechin, and
    Matne's two sons,
32. and the nobles of Buchan all in witness hereof in Ellon.

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(3) GENERAL NOTES.

Entry I.—This entry is known as the " Legend of Deer," for
it is neither more nor less than a legend ; indeed, it should be
rather said that it is a myth. For no better example of the myth
that accounts for a place name by founding a story on a popular
etymology of that name could be found than this account of the
origin of the name of Deer. Such myths are extremely common ;
for instance, Loch-Ness is similarly derived from the old lady's
exclamation when she saw the valley, where a few minutes before
there was only a well, now all filled with a large lake : "Tha
Loch ann Nis," she said, and hence the name Loch-Ness. Yet,
this myth has actually been taken as a serious fact even in these cri-
tical days of ours, despite also the further fact that places were not
of old named on such principles. A more likely derivation is sug-

gested by the fact that Derry and Durrow were the names of the leading Columban Monasteries; Derry is, of course, *daire*, an oak grove, our *doire*; and Bede tells us that Durrow, in his time Dearmach, meant the "plain of oaks," while in early Irish the word Daurtige ("oak-house") meant "oratory." We get personal names with this Daurtige or Derteach; for instance, Breasal o Dertaig, "Breasal of the oratory," abbot of Iona in 772-801; but the most significant name for us is that contained in the Four Masters under date 717: "Drostan Dairthaighe (*al.* Deartaighe) died at Ard-Breacain." And this name suggests some further doubts. Drostan is in the legend represented as companion and pupil of St Columba, and the Breviary of Aberdeen goes so far as to make Columba his uncle. Now, as a matter of fact, Drostan's name is unknown in Irish history in connection with Columba, and we examine in vain among the sisters and brothers of Columba for a trace of such an offspring, or among Columba's companions for record of such a name. We are forced to the conclusion that St Drostan was never connected with Columba; and the entry in the Annals of the Four Masters is the only light we have in this dark region. The Drostan of the Oratory there mentioned is in all probability our Drostan—the Drostan who founded or to whom were dedicated churches at Aberdour, Aberlour, Dunachton, Edzell, Insch, Rothiemay, and one or two places also in Caithness. North-Eastern Pictland was evidently the chief scene of his labours, extending from Forfarshire to Aberdeenshire, and westwards to the centre of the Province of Moray. His probable date is therefore 700. The legend of Deer is of no historical value, save to show the beliefs of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in regard to events that happend some five hundred years earlier. St Columba's name was one to conjure with; this man, great in his life time, became far greater in the belief of posterity. He swallowed up into his own fame all the work of his predecessors, companions, and contemporaries, and deprived generations of pioneers and missionaries of their just fame. The conversion of all Northern Scotland is set down to Columba, whereas there were saints before him, like Palladius, that penetrated probably as far, and laid the foundation on which he reared the structure, while saints after him had still to conquer the angles and far-away nooks of the country. Drostan was one of these. The name looks Pictish; it is a diminutive of a name common among the Pictish kings, the name Drust; while Drostan was the mythical Druid of the Picts on their advent into Ireland some thousand and a-half years before our era. He then appears along

with Fib, Fidac, Fotla, Fortren, Cait, Cee, and Cirig, who are the seven sons of Cruithne, who divided Alban among them. They are the eponymic heroes of Scotland, as Brutus is of Britain; but how Drostan comes to be among this mythic company is not altogether very clear.

Entry II.— In entry two, we descend suddenly from myth to fact. It relates to the refounding of the Abbey of Deer sometime in the tenth century, and the period it refers to covers wellnigh a hundred years; the death of Malsnecte, for instance, took place in 1085, and probably the entry may have been made then or shortly after. Comgell, son of Æd, is the first Mormaer here mentioned, and he was doubtless Mormaer of Buchan. However, it must be remembered that the Mormaer of Moray was during the eleventh century often called "King of Moray," that is, of the North; he was even called "King of Alba," and in the person of Macbeth, he was actually such. Hence the Mormaer of Moray may here intervene as superior or king over the Mormaer of Buchan. Two Mormaers, or kings of Moray, at least, meet us in this entry; perhaps more. These are Malcolm, son of Malbride, whose death as "King of Alban" in 1029 is recorded by Tighernac; and Malsnectan, son of Lulach, who succeeded Macbeth, Lulach being slain in 1058, and Malsnectan dying quietly in 1085 as "King of Moray." Domnall, son of Ruadri, may also have been a Mormaer of Moray, for Ruadri is the first Moravian Mormaer we have record of. The King of Scotland grants his share of the same lands; this may mean that he remits his "exactions" as Ardri, while the Mormaer and the Toisech at the same time remit theirs, but it may also be a confirmation of the "King of Moray's" grant. The pair or triple granters of the same land may be arranged thus:—

Kings.	Mormaers.	Toisechs.
——	Comgell McÆda	——
——	—— ......Moridac McMorcunn
——	Matain McCaerill.....Culn McBatin
——	Domnall McGiric.....Malbride McCathal
——	—— ......Cathal McMorcunn
Malcolm McKenneth..Domnall McRuadri...Malcolm McCuln
Malcolm McMalbride .	——	——
Malsnecte McLulach...Domnall McMacDub- bacin ....Cathal [McMorcunn]
——	Cainnech McMacDo- barcon...........Cathal [McMorcunn]
——	Domnall [McMacDub- bacin] ....Cathal [McMorcunn]

There appear to be two parallel sets of Tosechs; there is the family or clan of Morgann or Morcunn, mentioned in Entry VI., who may have had one district, and the family represented by Culn and his son Malcolm, possibly the Clan Canan of Entry V. MacDubbacin may be a mistake for Dobarcon; Domnall and Cainnech would then be brothers.

Entry III.—Gartnait is son of Cainnech, the son of Mac-Dobarcon, mentioned in the last entry. The grant is made in the eight year of King David's reign, 1132. We have here a great stride towards the proper charter, for the witnesses are mentioned. The gift is made to Cormac, Bishop of Dunkeld, in whose person King Alexander had revived the power of Bishop of that see. Nectan was the first Bishop of Aberdeen. Ruadri, Mormaer of Mar, appears as one of the seven Earls of King Alexander the First, " Rothri comes." The only other name of interest is that of Domongart, Ferleginn of Turriff. The Ferleginn of a monastery had as his duty to transcribe the MSS., write the annals of the place, and teach the schools.

Entry V.—Some parts of the language here are difficult to decipher. The grant of Comgell, chief of Clan Canan, is especially obscure.

Entry VI.—Colban evidently has his right to the Mormaership through his wife, Eva, daughter of Gartnait. The Toisech, the head of Clan Morgann, mortmains his share of the lands along with the Mormaer. But the monastery was yet liable to the exactions of the king, that is, of the State, on "four *davachs* of the gross burdens exigible from the chief monasteries and chief churches of Alba." This national tax would seem, therefore, to have been restricted, in the case of Deer, to four *davachs*. The term *davach* is applied to an extent of some four hundred acres, more or less, and contained four ploughlands; it would appear to answer to the Irish *Ceathramadhs*, or fourth part of the *Baile Biatach*, and thirty *Bailes* made a *Tuath*. The term *Pet* (hence Late Latin *Petium*, a portion of land, and English *piece*), applied in the Book of Deer to a farm or "share," probably meant a ploughland, and hence a fourth part of a *davach*. The word *davach* comes from the early Gaelic and Irish *dabach*, a vat or tub, and was, of course, first a liquid measure.

(4) LINGUISTIC NOTES.

(a) PHONETICS. We have little or no regressive action of the "small" vowels *e* and *i* on the previous syllable; so that the favourite law of "caol ri caol, agus leathan ri leathan" is

disregarded, or perhaps not yet commenced. Hence *a* remains unaffected by *i* or *e* in *a*thle, *a*lenn, cl*a*nde, dor*a*ten, ecl*a*si, marro*a*lseg, m*a*the, slá*n*te, tá*n*ic; *o* in br*o*cín, c*o*mgell, c*o*tchenn, c*o*secrad, d*o*l*o*dib, d*o*min, m*o*ri, n*o*lloce, *o*rti, t*o*sech; and *u* in alg*u*ne, cr*u*thnec, c*u*leon, d*ú*ni, fing*u*ni, m*u*lenn, m*u*redig, h*u*le. Nor again has the regressive action of a broad vowel made itself felt on the preceding small one. Thus we get b*e*nact, c*é*tna, c*i*natha, d*í*sad, ecl*a*si, esc*o*b, (f)a*i*enasi, *e*tar, gr*e*gor, p*e*tar, t*i*dnaig, t*i*pra. And connected with this, it has to be noted that the influence of the old terminal *a* of the declension of *a* stems had not yet asserted itself in the spelling of the *e*, any more than it had yet done in Irish. Thus we have *fer* for *fear*, but prehistoric *viras*, *bec* for *beag*, *cét* for *ciad*, *ingen* for *nighean*, *merlec* for *meirleach*, *nesu* for *neasa*. The change is just beginning, however; we get *Comgeall* for *comgell*, *déara* for *déra*, and *thesseach*.

Terminal *i* and *e* are sometimes confused. The genitive of fem. *a* nouns ought to be in *e*; but we have cill*i* as well as cill*e*, clenn*i* as well as clande, ecl*a*si for eclase, mor*i* for more. For laith*i* the Irish puts laith*e*; here is dún*i* for Ir. dune, and gill*i* for Ir gille, which last, however, is the usual reading in the Book. And *e* appears for old Irish *i*; nahul*e* for nahul*i* (plural of *ia* decl. fem.) and el*e* for el*i* (acc.s. fem. of same.)

The vowel *a* is replaced by *o* in tangat*o*r; it changes to *ai* by "regression" of *i* in col*ai*m, pet*ai*r (but also pet*i*r); into *oi*, apstal giving gen. abst*oi*l, lul*oi*g from Lulach (nom.); into *ui* in col*ui*m, into *e* in cosgr*e*g, br*é*ther, *e*le, m*e*c; into *ei* in m*ei*c; into *i* in m*u*redig. And *e* changes to *i* in c*i*lle, and *o* to *oi* in cl*oi*ch; while *ae* in the genitive gives *oi*, as m*oi*l from nom. m*a*el.

In regard to diphthongs, *a* is written for *ae* or *ai* in mórm*a*r, m*a*lcoluim, and several other m*a*ls. For *ae* we have *é* in *é*da; and *o* is written for *oi* or *oe* in s*ó*re and t*o*sec, and *é* in *é*n for *oe* or *oi*.

Aspirated *g*, *d*, *t* are dropped in a few words; be(th)ad, bri(gh)te, blie(dh)nec, fie(dh)nasi; but is otherwise as a ru'e kept. Old Irish and Gaelic dropped *n* before *c*, *t*, *p*, *s* inside a word; thus c*é*t, t*i*prat, cosecrad, p*ú*sta. But Old Irish extended this rule so as to embrace a combination of related words, like prepositions and nouns, or adjectives and nouns; while Modern Irish merely modifies or "eclipses" these consonants to *g*, *d*, *b*. Modern Gaelic, however, preserves the *n* before them all, and in this respect the Book of Deer, while showing traces of eclipsis, preserves the *n* in the following cases: *in saere*, *in pett* (im pett?), *dan-sil*, and *gon-dísad* (for con-tísad); it preserves it by the Irish

method of eclipses in *ib-bidbiu, ig-ginn* ; while it follows Old Irish in dropping it in *ipet* (iv. 1.) and partially in *issaeri.* No trace of the old accusative or any inflectional endings in *n* can be found, save once in the article (I. 14).

A curious reduplication of the *n* is seen in the expression *innocmad bliadin* "in the eight year." The well-known Gaelic preposition "ann an" would seem here to be fore-shadowed.

Assimilation has taken place or is taking place in *nd* to *nn* ; *clenni* but *clande* and *muleɴɴ* ; in *ld* to *ll* (*mallacht* for *maldacht*), *ln* to *ll* (*comallfas* for *comalnfas*) ; *tl* to *ll* in *nollo-ce* for *not-laic.*

The curious spelling of *cc* for infected *c* has already been noticed. We have *buadacc, imacc,* and even *acchad* ; but single *c* may even stand for *ch* as in *blienec, cec, clerec, cloic, feradac, moridac, ocmad,* &c.

The sinking of the tenues *c, t, p,* to *g, d. b,* is seen in the beginning of words only in pronouns and prepositions, even in modern times. Here we have it: *gé, go, gon,* all for old Irish, *cia, co, con.* It appears in the middle or end of words in *gonige, abstoil, edar,* all of which, however, have the older hard consonant in other, places ; in *dendaes, escob,* and *tidnaig* at the end.

(b) ASPIRATION.—Single vowel-flanked consonants in the Gaelic languages have undergone a change known as aspiration, by which *c, t, p* became *ch, th* (*h*), *ph* (*f*) ; *g, d, b* became *gh* (*y*), *dh* (*y*), *bh* (*v*) ; and *f, m, s* became *fh* (*h*), *mh* (*v*), *sh* (*h*). The liquids *l, n, r,* though really undergoing changes, are not marked in writing. In Old Irish and the Book of Deer only *c, t, p, s, f* were aspirated ; the rest remained unchanged, with the exception already noted in the case of the Book of Deer, where we meet the forms *brite* of *gillebrite* in *D.C., blienec, fienasi,* and *bead* ; but there is no infected *g, d, b,* or *m* actually written in the book. Now, this aspiration of vowel-flanked consonants within words was extended to clusters of closely connected words, such as article and noun, noun and adjective, numeral and noun, preposition and noun or article, verbal particle and verb, negative and verb, relative and verb, and conjunction and verb. If the terminal sound of the first word was a vowel and the initial sound of the next word an "aspirable" consonant, then aspiration took place. The period at which the aspirating tendency commenced was evidently before the terminal *s* and *n* were lost, for the influence of these still remains. Thus : *fear ceart,* "a right man," but *bean cheart,* "a right woman," which prehistorically were respectively *viras certas* and *bena certa* ; where, on coalescing *viras* with *certas,* the *c* is preserved by the *s* of *viras* from being singly vowel-flanked.

Now, in the plural we have *fir chearta* for *viri cert(as)*, where the *c* as in *bena-certa*, was originally flanked alone by vowels, and hence aspirated. A glance at my paper on the "Ancient Celts," where the language of the old Celts is restored, will at once make clear how aspiration proceeds; that, for instance, the gen. and dat. sing. mas., the nom. and dat. sing. fem., and the nom. plural masc. of stems in *a* must aspirate an adjective coming after them; and, *by analogy*, the other declensions mainly follow the *a* declension, save in the plural in *n*.

The following aspirations occur in the Book of Deer :—

(1) After the Article. At pre V. 1., *in chomded* is the gen. sing. mac. for *santi-comdetis*. Modern Gaelic makes here two changes; the *i* becomes an *a* and the *n* disappears before aspirated consonants, save *s, t, d*. At I. 16, the acc. fem. *in chadraig* appears, but the aspiration here is either a mistake (which is unlikely), or only shows that the acc. was fast becoming the same as the nom. in Scotch Gaelic. Prehistoric Gaelic gives *santin cataracin*.

(2) After feminine nouns. VI. 5, *ben phusta = bena (s)pons- (a)ta*, nom. case; II. 10, *arachoir chetna*, dat. case = *cori cintnii*

(3) After 3rd pers. pron. adjectives, *a* for *asa*ᵢ: *na(fh)iadnaisse* and *inna(fh)ienasi*.

(4) After the verbal particles *ro* and *do* : *do-chuid, marro(fh)- alseg, ro-thidnaig*. After the negative *ní* ; *ní tharat*.

(5) After verbs : after 3d sing. conjunctive : *gonice chloic* ; after 3d sing. pret. *robo-thosec = bove tössecas*.

(6) After the prep. *ar, air* (are-), *do*, and *o* ; *air(a)choir, archuit, arthabart* ; *do cholumcille* (compare *docrist, do cormac* where *c* is irregularly used for *ch*); *ó thosec* (*thesech* etc.), *ó thósach, ó hunn* (but *úa cloic*, where *c* is for *ch.*)

(7) With the relative (understood) in nom. case : *do ni thissad* (for ni-a-thissad) in VI 21 ; *ar cec(h)tosech (a) chomallfas, ar cach- hén (a) chomallfas*.

(8) In compounds : *ard-chellaib*. This is caused by the connecting vowel necessary in such circumstances.

(9) An extension of the principle of (8) occurs where one word governs another in the genitive ; especially with *mac* in proper names, where, in fact, the two words make a compound. Thus, *mac-chathail* : but also, *proinn chét* and *cuitid thoisig*.

(c) ECLIPSES.—All the cases of eclipsis may be gathered together.

After the prep. *in* : ig-ginn ; after the poss. pron. of 3d, plu.: araginn = ar-an-cinn ; after *gon :* gon-dìsad = *con-tisad* ; after the gen. plur. of the article : naglerec = *nan-clerec*, from *santan*

clerican of prehistoric Gaelic; also after the acc. fem. sing. of the article : in-gathraig = *in n-cathraig*.

(d) DECLENSION.— " The declensional forms are scanty," says Mr Stokes, " but sufficient to show that the Highlanders declined their noun in the eleventh century as fully as the Irish." Again I must refer the reader to the division on Language of my paper on the " Ancient Celts," for there the terminology will be found.

(1) Stems in *a*. Masculine nouns : (*Apstal*), gen. *abstoil*, dat. *apstal ;* (*cenn*), dat. *cinn* (Old Irish *ciunn*) ; (*clérech*), gen. *clérech ;* (*dér*), nom. pl. *déara ;* (*dia*), gen. dé (= *dévi*), dat. and acc. *dia ;* (*dobor*), gen. *doboir ; mac*, gen. *meic* or *mec*, acc. *mac ; mór-maer* (*mormar*), gen. *mórmoir ; toisech*, gen. *toisig* or *toisey ;* (*uachtar*), gen. *uactair*. Masculine proper names : (*Caerell*), gen. *caerill ; Cathal*, gen. *cathail ; Colum*, gen. *colaim ; Cormac*, gen. *cormaic ;* (*Cosgrach*), gen. *cosgreg ; Donchad*, gen. *donnchaid* or *donchid ;* (*Lulach*), gen. *luloiy ;* (*Muredach*), gen. *murediy ;* (*Petar*), gen. *petair* and *petir*, acc. *petar ;* (*Sithech*), gen. *sithig*. Add also gen. *mulenn*, acc. *galar*.

Feminine *a* stems : (*briathar*) gen. *bréther* : (*cell*), gen. *cille*, dat. pl. *cellaib* : (*cland*), gen. *clande* and *clenni* : (*cloch*), dat. *cloic*, acc. *cloic* : (*dabach*) acc, dual *dá dabeg*, gen. pl. *dabach* : (*eclas*), gen. *eclasi* : (*edbart*), dat. *edbairt*, acc. pl. *edbarta*. Only nom. of *ben* and *ingen* are given. Also (*pet*), gen. *pette*, dat. and acc. *pett*.

Masculine *ia* stems : acc. in *ére, ernacde, laithi* : gen. s. *rigi* : nom. pl. m. *uli*, dat. p. *ŭlib*, acc. p. f. *uli*. Proper names : nom. *Bede, dubni, algune* : gen. *matni* : nom. *ruadri*, gen. *ruadri* : *finguni*, gen. (Fingonius).

Feminine *ia* stems : (*saere*), dat. *saeri ; slánte* : gen. *mori* for *More* (*Mariae*) ; for *uli* see masc.

Neuter : *fienasi*, a dat.

(2) Stems in *i* : (*maith*), n. pl. *mathe* : (*Brigit*), gen *brigte*

(3) Stems in *u* : (*bráth*), gen. *bratha*, dat. *braith* (a mistake for *bráth*) : (*Aed*), gen *éda* ; compare also genitive *marr*.

(4) Consonant stems. *c* stems : (*cathir*), acc. *cathraig, cadraig* ; compare gen. *cannech, ferdomnach*.

g stems : (*rí*), gen. *ríig* for *ríg*.

d stems : (*comdiu*), gen. *comded* ; (*betha*) gen. *be(th)ad*, and a stem in *ant*, (*tipra*), gen. *tiprat*.

n stems : (*Alba*), gen. *alban* : *brithem* : (*cú*) gen. in dobar-con: *anim*.

as stems : acc. *sliab, macc* (*mach*); gen. in *dúni* for *dúne*.

Diminutives are in—*án : Drostán, Nectán, búchan :—àin* in

Colbain, Matain :—in *in*: *brocin* and perhaps in *aldin, alterin, domin, dubbacin, brécin, aechin* :—*nat* in *garnait* gen. of *Garnat* :—*ine* in *Calline, Molini,* :—*éne* in *fúrene.*

The forms of the article are : sing. masc. nom. *in*, gen *in* (aspirating), dat. *in*, acc. *in*. Sing. fem. acc. *in*, plural gen. *na* (eclipsing), dat. and acc. *na*. Pre vocalic acc. sing. masc. *inn* (I 14).

The pronominal forms are : *sé* and *hé* "he," *sí* "she"; *a* "his"; *a(n)* "their"; *gé* "who" for *cia*. There are what are called infixed pronouns : ro-*s*-benact "he blessed it," where the *s* (= Eng. *she*) is placed between the particle *ro* and the verb *benact* : also gon-*das*-tabrad, where *das* is an infixed pronoun of like signi- fication with *s* of the former. Stokes adds to these *ní-thárat*, which he resolves into ni-do-*a*-rat, where *a* is an infixed pronoun sing. fem., but really such a supposition is unnecessary ; the mean- ing does not require any pronoun. Prepositional pronouns are : *dó, dóib, ris ;* possessive prep. pronouns are, *ara, cona, dan*— all with *an* of 3d person plural, and *inna*. Demonstratives are *sain* or *sen* and *sunn* ; pronominal adjectives, *ele, ule, cach.*

The numerals occuring are, *én* "one," *dá* "two," *cetri* "four," *cét* "hundred," and *ocmad* "eight."

(d) Conjugation.—The verbal forms are not numerous ; the finite parts are all in the 3rd person.

The present tense of the verb *es* or *is,* "is," is the only ex- ample of that tense we have.

The past tense, indicative, is well represented. It has *ro* prefixed or, at times, infixed : *ro-báith,* ro-*s*-benact, *ro-bo,* ro- (*f*)alseg, *ro-gab, ro-thidnaig.* It is infixed in *do*-r-aten, *do*-ro-*dloeg, fo-r-acaib ;* in *do*-ro-*nsat ;* and probably in *dorat* and *tharat,* which both may be resolved into *do-ro-dath(?)*, according to the fall of the accent on or off the *do*. The plural of *dorat* is *dorat-sat* and *doratsatar ;* the latter is a deponent of the former, while the former itself is the plural of an *s* preterite ; so, too, *do-ro-nsat.* The examples of *do,* forming a past tense, beside the above with *ro* infixed with it—do-*raten*, do-*rodloeg*, do-*rat*, are do-*chuid* (went), now *chaidh; tanic* for *danic,* and its plural *tangator* for O.I. *tancatar* = (do)*anancantar* of prehistoric period. See paper on "Ancient Celts."

The future tense, lost in modern Gaelic as an inflection, though represented by the old present, is here : *ticfa* = do-*ic-fa ;* from a shorter form of the root of *tanic*—the root *nak;* ticfa = preh do-*anc-abat* (compare Lat. *amabit*). Also the relative future : *chomallfas* for *comlanabat-ja ?* The root is *lan* (full.)

The imperative is represented by *bad* or *bed* "let (it) be."

The present subjunctive appears in *gon-ice*, from the same root as *tanic*: prehistoric form of *ice* would be *ancât*, judging from other verbs. An example of the *s* conjunctive appears in *tisad* or *disad*; Irish, *tiasad*; from prehistoric *tessata* or *steixata* (compare Greek στείξοι.)

The secondary present, also used in a subjunctive fashion, is represented by 3rd sing. *tabrad*, an accented *do-bered*: by 3rd pl. *dendaes* for *dentís*.

(e) ADVERBS, &c.—The adverbs are *act* (but), *asaathle-sen*, *ohunn*, *imacc* (modern *amach*.)

Prepositions *a* or *as*, *air* or *ar*, *cu(go)*, *do*, *etar*, *fri* and *ri*, *iar* and *iarn*, *in* and *i*, *le*, *o* and *ua*.

Conjunctions : *acus*, *gon*, *ma* : *act* is adverbial here.

Negative particles : *ná*, *ní*.

(4) INDEX AND VOCABULARY.

An index to all the references and words in the texts is here added, and it is also made to do duty as a vocabulary where all the forms of the Old Gaelic are brought in contact with the New Gaelic of our time. Derivations are as far as possible given for the words, and where an English word is found allied in root to a Gaelic word, the further congeners of that word in allied tongues are not given, for these will be found in Skeat's Dictionary. The contractions are : D. C. for King David's Charter : N. G. for New or Modern Gaelic : M. G. for Middle Gaelic : O. Ir. for Old Irish : Lat. and Gr. represent Latin and Greek : Skt. is for Sanskrit.

VOCABULARY.

a "his" [N.G. *a* ; Skt. *asya* ; Lat. *e(jus)*] I. 1, adalta : VI, 5, a ben : I. 19, ánim for a anim "its name:" II. 18; V., 25, 26. an "their" (Skt. āsām); p. V. 2, daneis for dian-éis " of their track "=aft·r them ; I. 4, araginn = ar-an cinn.

a "from" [N.G. *a*; Lat. *e.c.*] I. 2, á hi = a Hi "from Iona."

abb "abbot" [N.G. *aba* ; from Lat. *abbas* (Eng. *abbot*)]. V. 28 : III. 6 áb.

abber-, a place prefix signifying "estuary" [N.G. *obair-*; Old Welsh *oper* ; from *od-ber* ; *od* = Eng. *out*; *ber* = Eng. *bear* " carry"]. I. 3, abbordoboir : III. 6 ; D.C. abberdeon,

abberdeon "Aberdeen." [From *aberdeon* ; *deon* = *dévona* ; Lat. *Diana* " goddess ;" see *dia*]. D.C; III, **6.**

abbordoboir "Aberdour" [From *aber-dobor* ; *dobur* in Old Irish means " water," Welsh *dwfr*, Breton *dour*. *dobur* is = do-bur, where *bur* = Eng. *burn*.] I. 3.

abstoil "apostle" [N.G. *abstol*, from Lat. *apostolus* (Eng. *apostle*)]. III, 3 (gen.) VI. 16, apstal (dat.)

áchád " field " [N.G. *achadh* ; rt. *ac* ; *achad* = *acatus* " edged, furrowed ;" cf. Lat. *acies*]. II. 3, 8 ; V. 24 ; V. 3. acchad.

acchad madchor ; " Auchmachar " of present time ; three miles N.W. of Deer church,

act "but" [N.G. *ach* ; Gr. ἐκτός ; see *a* (from)]. I. 10.

acus "and" [N.G. *agus* ; Eng *nigh*] V. 1 is the only place *acus* is written in full ; everywhere else a symbol like 7 is used.

aechin : see Malaechin.

aed "Aed"; prop. name [N.G. *Aoidh*, Gaulish *Aeduus* ; Gr. ἀιθος (fire)]. D. C. aed; II. 1, èda. Both genitive.

alban "Scotland" [N.G. *Alba* ; Lat. *albus* white (Eng. *alb*)]. VI. 23, gen. case.

aldin, prop. name : "Aden" now, east from Deer church along the Ugie. V. 24, daldín.

alenn ? V. 24.

algune, name of person ; III. 7.

alla "over" ? [N.G. *thall; Lat. ille*?]. II. 21, Stokes suggests *all*, a rock, here.

álterí, prop. name : now "Altrie." II 5. (dat.)

alterín, name of place ; diminutive of *altere* ? II 21, 22.

ánim for a anim *q.v.*

anim "name" [N.G. *ainm* ; Eng. *name*]. I. 19.

apstal : VI 16. See abstoil.

ar "on," prep. [N.G. *air* ; Gr. πάρος ; Eng. *for*]. Always joined to next word ; I 4, 8, 18 ; II 17 ; pV 1 ; V 25, 26 ; VI 18, 21, 25.

ara "on his, its." V, 26 araes = ara-és *q.v.*

arachoir for *ar(a)-choir q.v.*

araes "after him"=ara-és. The *és* signifies "path;" hence araes = after him, on his path. So also daneis. [Compare N.G. *éis.*]

araginn for *ar an-cinn q.v.*

ard- "high" [N.G. *ard*; Lat. *arduns* (Eng. *arduous*)]. Prefixed to the two next words :—

ardchellaib "chief churches." VI, 25. See cellaib.

ardmaindaidib "chief - dwellings." VI, 22. Dat. plu. of ard-mendat. See mandaidib.

as "from" [N.A. *as* ; see *a.*] I 6 asááthle.

asááthle = as-a-athle "after." I 6.

ascad "present, gift :" II 4.

athotla " Athole " [= Ath-Fhothla. Fothla is a name for Ireland.] D.C.

attác "requesting." It is the inf. of vb. *ateoch* "I request."

ba "was" [N.G. *bu* ; Eng. *be*] II 4, balé "it was he." Past conjoined is *ro-bo*; I 3, 10; II 4. Imperative is *bad*: I 17 nabad; also *bed*: I 19.

báith "drowned, mortmaine l," preterite of *baidim* "I drown" [N.G. *báth* ; Gr. βαθός (Eng. *bathos*)]. II 15, 16, 24; VI 1 baid.

báll "spot" ? [N.G. *ball ; Eng. bald ?* or *phallic* ?] IV 1, báll dómin.

banb "Banff." D.C. A name for Ireland of old is Banba. Eire, Fodla and Banba were three goddesses of the Tuatha-De-Dananns.

batín; proper name, gen. case. II. 6.

bé ; 3d sing. pres. subj. of bi "be" [see *ba*] I. 17, gebe.

bead ; a proper name, gen. case. III. 7 ; V. 2. [Evidently same as N.G. *beatha*, life : Eng. *vital, quick.*]

bec "little" [N.G. *beag*, Welsh *bach*: Gr. μικρός ; Eng. *small* ?]. I. 10, mádbec.

bed "be " I. 19, bedéar. See *bad.*

bède : pr. name, nom. [Compare Gaulish epithet and name *Bedaios.*]

beith "birch" [N.G. *beath* ; Lat. *betula*]. II. 22, im-beith.

ben "wife" [N.G. *bean* ; Gr. γυνή ; Eng. *queen*]. VI. 5, nom. case.

benact "(he) blessed." I. 16 ros-benact for ro-s-benact. See *bennacht.*

bennacht "blessing" [N.G. *beannachd*, from Lat. *benedictio* (Eng. *benediction.*)] V. 25. nom. case : pr. V. 1, bennact.

bidbín "Biffie " of modern times. II. 10, 12.

bliadin "year" [N.G. *bliadhna*, Welsh *blwyddyn* ; Gr. βλώσκω ?; Lat. *remeligo*]. III. 5.

blienec "many-yeared." I 17 : [see *bliadin.*]

bo "was" [N.G. *bu*: see *ba*]. In form *ro-bo*—always here. I 3, 10; II 4.

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bráth "doom" [N.G. *bráth*; root of *breath* judgment, which is *ber*; Eng. *bear* carry]. V 25, acc.; II, 26 bratha, gen. : I 5. braith for gobraith, acc., but irregular. gobraith, "forever."

brecini "Brechin" of to-day. Gen. case.

brether "word" [N.G. *briathar*; Gr. ῥῆμα; Eng. *word*]. I 16, acc of *briathar*.

bricin : pr. name ; see málbricin.

brigte "Bridget," an Irish saint. [N.G. *Brighid*, from *Brigantis*, root of Gaelic *brigh?* or of Eng. *bright?*] II 7; D.C. brite.

brithem "judge" [N.G. *britheamh*; see root under *bráth*]. III 8, nom.

brocein, a man's name, nom. case [Is it diminutive of *broc* badger, Eng. *brock?*]

buadacc "victorious" [N.G. *buadhach*; Eng. *booty*.] I 17.

buchan "Buchan." I 4; VI 2, 33 : gen. case.

cach "each" [N.G. *gach*=ca-ch ; Lat. *quis-que*.] V, 25, 26, ar-cachhén ; II 19, p V 1, 2, cec.

cachhén "each one." See *cach* and *hén*.

cadraig. See *cathraig*.

caerill, proper name, gen. case.

Cainnech, proper name, nom. case. II 20 ; II 24 Cainnec ; V 16, caennig (gen.)

callen "(Dun)-Keld." [N.A. *Chaillinn*; Lat. (from Celtic) *Caledonia*; root in G. *coille*, O.Ir. *caill* (dat. *caillid*, stem *caldet*); Eng. *holt*.] III 5, gen.; D.C.

calline, proper name, gen. IV 2.

camone ? II 22.

canan, proper name, gen. V 22.

casc "Easter" [N.G. *caisg*, from Lat. *pascha* (Eng. *pasch*) of Hebrew origin]. II 19.

Cathal, proper name in II [Welsh *cadwal*; root *cath* battle, and *wal* wolf (?), Gaelic *faol*; so Rhys. German Hathovulf "war wolf" is identical. Gaelic *cath* is = Saxon *heathor*; Gr. κότος.] Hence surname *MacCall*.

cathraig "town [N.G. *cathair*; rt. *kat* to cover] : acc. sing : I 5, 6.

cat' for Catness : "Caithness" [*Cattavia* "land of Catti"] D.C.

cec "each." See *cach*.

ceccasc. See *cec* and *casc*.

cec-nolloce. See *cec* and *nolloce*.

cellaib "churches" [N.G. *cill*, from Lat. *cella* (Eng. *cell*)]. Dat. pl., VI. 25 : gen. *cille q.v.*

cennedig "Kennedy" of to-day. V 13.

cét "hundred" [N.G. *ceud* or *ciad*; Eng. *hund*red]. II 19, chét, gen.

cétna "same" [N.G. *ceudna* or *ciadna*; root in Lat. *recens* (Eng. re-*cent*)]. II 18.

cetri "four" [N.G. *ceithir*; Lat. *quatuor*; Eng. *four*]. II 19.

chuid "went" [N.G. *chaidh*; Eng. *whet*]. I 11, do-chuid.

cinatha "Kenneth" [Welsh *Cynedda*; Ir. *Cinaedh*; *cnn* high, *Aed q.v.?*].

cinn "head" [N.G. *ceann*, old dat. *cionn*; Welsh *penn*; rt. *kvi* (swell).] I 4, ar-a-ginn, "before them;" the dat. case : V. 23 ig-ginn.

clande "clan" [N.G. *clann*, Welsh *plant*; rt. *kval*, Old Celtic *qualnata*] V 17 gen. case ; VI 9, clenni (gen.)

clérec "cleric" [N.G. *cleireach* from Lat. *clericus* (Eng. *cleric*)]. I 10, 11, II 9 : na-glerec (gen. pl.).

cloic "a stone" nom. cloch [N.G. *clach*; Lat. *calculus* (Eng. *calculate*)]. I 13, 14, dat. and acc.

cobrig prop. name, gen. case. III 2 ; II 12, gobróig [*Cobrach?*]

coir "manner" [N.G. *cor* "state," from root of *cuir*, viz. *kar*; Lat. *creo* (Eng. *create*)] II 18, ara-choir (dat.)

colbain, prop. name, nom.

Colum "Malcolm" [N.G. *Calum*; from Lat. *Columba*, dove (Eng. *Columbine.*)] It appears *passim* in compounds.

Colum-cille "St Columba." *Nom* : I 1, 15, 19. *Dat.* : I 7, 18, II 2, III 3 ; columcille at V 6, 21 ; columcilli IV. 1. *Acc.* columcille VI 14.

chomallfas "who will fulfil" [Gaelic *comhal* perform; from *Com-lán*. *com*=Lat. *cum* (Eng. *con-*); and see *lán*.] Relative future tense; p V 2; V 25.

comded "Lord"; gen. of *comdiu* [Obsolete Gaelic *coimhdhe*; *com* and root of *dia*, *q.v.*] pr. V 1 : D.C.

Comgeall, prop. name. *cf* St Comgall. [Roots : *com* and *geall* pledge ?]

co (con) "with" [N.G. *comh-*: Lat. *cum* (Eng. *con*)]. III 4.

cónánascad "With their gift" [N. G. *a nasgaidh* for *ann an asgaidh*] III 4.

Cormac, prop. name [*Corpi-maquas* of Old Celtic inscriptions]. III 4 ; V 12; VI 29 : (gen.) III 9.

cosecrad "consecration" [N.G. *cois-rigeadh*, from Lat. *consecratio* (Eng. *consecretion*)]. III 2, dat.

cósgreg, prop. name, gen. [Cosgrach] I 1.

cotcheun "general" [N.G. *coitchionn*; from *con-tech-en*; rt. *tech* house ?] VI. 24.

crist "Christ" [N.G. *Criosd* from Lat. *Christus* (Eng.); native root *geir*]. IV. 1, V 4, V 16, dat.; III 3, 8, gen.

cruthnec "Pict;" I 3. The root is *cruth* a form or picture, latterly from root *kar*, whence Lat. *creo* (Eng. *create*). Hence Cruthnech meant "Pictured One."

cu "to," prep. [N.G. *gu*, O.Ir. *co(n)*; Greek κατά (Eng, *cata-*)]. II 26; V 25, 26; VI 24. As *go* in *go-braith* I 5; *go-brád* V 7; II 26; V 24.

cuit "share" [N.G. *cuid*; cf Lat. *quota*]. II 5, 6, 11 acc ; VI 19, dat.

cuitid "share." II 10. See above.

culeon prop. name, gen [From *cuilean* a little dog ? a dim. of *eu*]. II 10.

culn (culíi in MS?), prop. name, nom. Same as above ?

dá "two" [N.G. *da* ; Eng. *two*.] II 12, 22; VI. 32.

dabach, *davach*, literally "a tub," but extended to denote a land measure of some 400 acres. [N.G. *dabhoch* and *Doch-;* Eng. *tub*]. VI 21, gen. pl.; dabég II 22, acc.dual.

dabid "David" III 5 ; D.C. gives *Dauid*.

dálta "pupil, foster-son" [N.G. *dalta* ; root is *al* as in *al*tram ; Lat. *alo* (Eng. *aliment.*) Word= *do-altias* to *dalte* of O.I.] I 1.

daldín for *do aldin q.v.*

dan (1) "to their" in *dan-sil*, p V 2; here it is *do* (to) and *an* (their), which see. (2) "of their" in *dan-eis*, p V 2; here it is for *di (de,* of *)* with *an*. See *do* (3) and *eis*.

das "it." This is the infixed pronoun in *gon-das-tabrád*, I 8 [See Zeuss p. 332 ; the roots are *da* and *sa* ; cf tha-*t* and *she*.]

dattác "to entreat :" I. 11. See *do* and *attac*.

delerc ; a place name, II 14. The Delerc. Quid ?

dendaes "(that) they should make," I 11 [N.G. *deanadh* ; O.I. *dentis*. Root *do-gen*; Eng. *kin* ; Lat. *gigno*. See *doronsat*.]

déara nom-pl. of *dèr* "tear" I 18 [N.G. *deur*, better *dèar*; Eng. *tear*.]

derad "end" [N.G. *deireadh*, O.I. *dered*] II, 26 acc. case.

día "God" [N.G. *dia* ; Lat. *deus* (Eng. *deity*)]. Dat. at II 10, 19, 23, 26 : gen. *dé* I 8.

dísad : see *tísad*.

dloeg of *dorodloeg*, "he desired" [O.I. *dlug* "desire": Lat. in-*dulgeo* (Eng. in*dulgent*)]. I 8.

do (1) a verbal particle for past time and for the infinitive [Eng. *to*]. It occurs 20 times with *dorat* and in *dorodloeg*, *dochuid*, *doronsat*, *dattac*.

do (2) "to," prep. with dat. [Eng. *to*]. Appears a score of times and aspirates.

do (3) "of, from " [N.G. *do*, properly *de*, O.I. *di* ; Lat. *de*]. I 7 dorath; VI 20, do ni thissad (of what comes on) : pV 2, daneis=do-an-eis.

dó (4) "to him" [N.G. *dá*=do-*è*, which see] I 9, 12, 15, II 17.

dobarcon, prop. name, Dobarcon

[O.I. *dobarchú*, N.G. *dobharchú*, means "otter;" literally water-dog; see *doboir*

doboir, seen in *Abbor-doboir* "Aberdour q. v*

dochuid : see *do* and *chuid;* I 11.

doib "to them"; I 24, 13 [N.G. *doibh* : from *do-ibh*, —*ibh* for *ibis*, dat. pl of *é*.]

dolodib, dat. pl. of *dolod* "harm" [N.G. *dolaidh* : Lat. *dolus*." It cf. *solod* (profit.)] III. 4 : VI 18 dolaidib. The meaning here appears to be " exactions."

domin, place name, gen. [Diminutive of *dom* (a house) ?]

Domnall, now "Donald" [N.G. *Domhnall;* from *domhan* "world" and root *fald* "wield." It answers in roots to Eng. "Deepwielder," in meaning to "world-wielder" : cf. *Bretwalda* and *Dubnorix* (world-king)] II *passim;* III 9.

domongart, prop. name, Domongart. III 9.

Donchad : "Duncan" V and VI [N.G. *Donnchadh;* Bede gives *Dunchadus;* a Welsh inscription *Dunocatus:* roots *dun* fortress, *catus* warrer: hence "fortress-warrior"].

donnachac, a person's name [*Donnchadh?* confusion of *ch* and *dh* ?]

dorat "gave," 3d. sing. past tense. It occurs *passim* in I, II, IV, V ; its plural *doratsat* at II 10 ; III 1, and a deponential form of same, *doratsatar*, at II, 21. [Roots, *do-ro-dat?* Eng. *date* etc. Or *do-ber?* See *tabrad* and cf. *doronsat*]

doráten "pleased," 3d. sing. past ind. I 7. [N.G. *thaitinn* for *do-aitinn* : *aitinn* is *ad-tenn* (fire)= Lat. *et* and *tepeo* (Eng. *tepid*.)]

dorodloeg "he asked, desired." See *dloeg*.

doronsat "they made," I 14. [N.G. *rinn* : *doronsat* = *do-ro-gn-sat*; root *gen* or *gn* seen in *gigno* of Lat. See *dendaes*.]

drostan, "Drostan" [Diminutive of Drost.] It occurs in nom., gen., and dat, but unchanged, and in all the entries *passim*.

dubbacin, a proper name. A Dubucan, mormaer of Angus, of evident importance, died 938. Observe it is "Domnall, son of Mac Dubbacin ;" Domnall's date is about 100 years later.

duib : pr. name, gen : Duff [N.G. *dubh* black ; Eng. *dumb*.]

dubni, a person's name, gen. case : III 10.

dubuci, prop. name, V 24.

dun "fort, town." [N.G. *dún* (hill) ; Eng. *town*.] See *dunicallen*.

dunicallen "Dunkeld ;" III. 5 : in D.C. duncallden. [N.G. *Dunchaillinn;* middle Irish *Duin Caildenn;* it comes from *dun* (fort) and *Caledonii* (Caledonians), which words see.]

hé "he." [N.G. *e* ; Lat. *is* ; German *er*.] I 2, esse (now *is e*) for *es-é*, not *es-se* necessarily : II 4, bahé, for *ba-e*.

eclasi "church," gen. of *eclais*, III 2. [N.G. *eaglais*, from Lat. *ecclesia* (Eng. *eccleeiastic*.)]

éda, prop. name, gen. of *Aed* q.v.

edar "between." See *etar*.

edbairt, dat. of *edbart* "offering" [N.G. *iobairt* ; from *ed-bart* ; *ed* (now in N.G. *ath-* or *aith-*)=*et* of Lat.; and *bart* is from *ber* ; Lat. *fero;* Eng. *bear*]: I 12 ; edbarta (acc. pl.) II 16, 25 ; VI 11.

éis "track," in *daneís* [N.G. *an déis* (after), for O.Ir. *di eis* (Zeuss 657); root *sta* (*éis*=*in-sta*, Eng. *on-step*)?] pV 2 ; ar-a-es, V 26.

heláin, place name, now "Ellon ;" VI 33. [N.G. *eilean* (island) from Norse *eyland*, which evidently here superseeded Gaelic *innis;* compare *Insch, Insh, Inch*, seen in Lat. *insula*, Gr. νῆσος]

ele "other" [O.Ir. *aile*, N.G. *eile* ; Lat. *alius* ; Eng. *else*]: I 7.

hén "one" [O.Ir. *oen*, N.G. *aon* ; O.Lat. *oinos* ; Eng. *one*] V 25, 26.

éngus, place name, "Angus" [Root : *oen-gust*, that is same as Eng. *one* and *choose, gusto*]. D.C.

ére "refusal" [O.Ir. *era*. N.G. *eura*] I 10.

ernacde "prayer" acc. and gen. I
14, 12 [O.Ir. *ernaiʒhte*, N.G. *úr-
nuigh*; Zimmer gives *air-con-ig-
as* roots : *ig* =Lat *egeo*].

es "is ;" [N.G. *is*, O.Ir. *is* : Lat. *est* ;
Eng. *is*.] I 4; V 4 is.

escop "bishop" [O.Ir. *epscop*, N.G.
easbuig : from Lat. *episcopus* (Eng.
bishop)] III 5, 6.

etar "between" [N.G. *eadar*, O.Ir.
eter : Lat *inter*]. V 24 : edar II 22.

étdanin, place name, II, 23.

éte prop. name, fem. "Eta." III. 1.

éua, prop. name, fem. "Eve." VI 4.

fa " was " in *fallán*. A form of *ba*
q.v. [M. G. and M. Ir. *fa* : Stokes
assigns *ba* to root *gva*, in Lat.
venio, Eng. *come* : hence *ba* or *fa*.]

fallán "was full" I 7 ; for *ba* and
lán q.v.

(f)alseg "revealed," 3d. sing. past.
ind. In *marroalseg*, I 2 [O.Ir.
foilsigim, N.G. *foillsich* ; from *sval-
astic-*, whence *solus*, *soillsich* ; Lat.
sol (Eng. *solar*.)]

fer "man," III 10 [N.G. *fear* ; Lat,
vir.]

ferleginn " reader," see *leginn*.

feradac, prop. name, Feradachus ;
IV 2.

ferdomnac, prop. name, gen. case ;
Ferdomnachus. D.C. Cf " Dom-
inican."

(f)iaidnaisse " witness " [O.Ir. *fiad-
nisse*, N.G. *fianuis*, apparently
borrowed from Eng. *witness*.] VI
33 : V 10, aienasi.

fib, " Fife "; D.C.

finguni, prop. name, gen.: Fingonius.
Hence " Mackinnon." V 9.

fius ? Is it *Pius* ? V. 24 : infius.

foracaib "left": 3d. sing. past. ind;
I 16 [O.Ir. *foácbaim*, N.G. *fág* ;
from *fo-ath-gab-*; that is *fo* =Lat.
sub ; *ath* = Lat. *et* ; *gab* = Lat.
habeo]. See *gab*.

fri "with"; I 18[N.G. *ri* and *frith-* ;
Lat. *versus* ; Eng. *wards*]. See *ri*.

furene, a place name : II 1.

gab "took," 3d. sing. past. ind.; I 9
[N.G. *gabh* ; Lat. *habeo*].

galár " disease ;" I 9, acc. [N.G.
galar ; Gr. χολέρα (Eng. *cholera*)].

garnáit, prop. name, gen.; "Garn et.'
I 14 ; II 3.

Gartnait, a person's name ; III 1 ;
IV 1 ; VI 4. It is a common
name in Pictland.

ge " who " I 17 [O.Ir. *cia*, N.G. *ge*
and *co* ; Lat *quis* ; Eng. *who*]

gebe " whoever " 1, 17 [Made of *ge*
and *be*, which see; N.G. *ge b' e* who-
ever].

gille "servant," used *passim* in pro-
per names ; *gille* being first and
the St's name after. [N.G. *gille* ;
Eng. *child* ; root *gan*.]

gillebrite, Gillbrite, count of Angus,
D. C. See *brigte*.

gillecolline, a prop. name at IV 2.

gillecolaim, a prop. name, at III 10 ;
"Gilliecalum."

gillecomded, a pr. name; " the Lord's
gille." D.C.

gillecrist, a pr. name, III 8, V 9 ;
" Gilcrist ;" " Christ's servant."

gillemicel, a prop. name ; III 1 and
IV 1 ; " Michael's servant."

gillendrias, pr. name in D.C.; " St.
Andrew's servant ;" now Gilland-
ers.

gillipetair, pr. name ; VI 32 ; "St.
Peter's servant."

giric, pr. name, gen. II 6 : girc IV 2.

go " to " [O.Ir. *co(n)*, N.G. *gu* : Gr.
κατά.] I 5, II 26, V 7, 24. See *cu*.

gobraith. See *brath*.

goderad. See *derad*.

gobróig, prop. name, gen. II 12. See
cobroig.

gon "that," a conj. [O.Ir. *co(n)*,
N.G. *gun*, spelt mistakenly *gu'n*;
from prep. *con*.] I 3, 9, 11, 12 ; II
22 ; V 14. 22.

gondastabrad, I 2 for *gondas-tabrad*
q.v.

gondendaes, I 11 for *gon dendaes*
q.v.

gondisad, I 12, for *gon disad*, *q. v.*

gonice "as far as." [O.I. *connici* for
con do-icci. N.G. *gu ruig*, from
old *corricci* for *co-ro-icci* ; see *ice*.]
I 13, II 22 ; gonic I 3 ; gonige *V*
14, 22; nice II 1.

gort " field " V 22. [N.G. *gort* ;
Lat. *hortus* ; Eng. *garden*.]

gortlie (?) at V 22; compare "Gartly" and "Gorthlick."

gregor, pr. name, D.C. Hence *Mac-Gregor*.

i. contraction for *idón*. [N.G. *eadhon*; "to wit]".

hi, "Iona;" I 2.

iar "after," a prep. [O.I. and here *iar n-*, N.G. *iar*; skt. *aparam*; cf *af*-ter of Eng.] I 10, 11, 15.

iarfallan for *ar-fa-làn* (?) *q.v.*

iarnere, for *iarn-ére*, *q.v.*

ibbidbin, for *in-bidbin q.v.*

ic, ice " may come," 3rd sing. pres. subj. [O.I. *ici*, N.G. (r)*uige*; rt. *anc*, in Eng. *nigh.*] See *gonice*.

hidid, prop. name, gen.; V 2.

imace " henceforward, out;" I 19. [O.I. *immach*, N.G. *a mach*; *im* = *in*, prep, *mach* = *magh*, a plain; rt. *mag*, great.]

in " to, into," prep. [O.Ir. *i* and *i n-* N.G. *ann* or *an* or *ann an* (Lat. *indu*); Lat. and Eng. *in*]. I 5, 13; II 5, 12; VI 33; also *is* in *isséra* II 26 V 25; eclipsing at *ib*-bidbin II 12, *ig*-ginn V 23.

in " the," the article [O.Ir *in*, N.G. *an*: from *santas*, roots *sa* (Eng. *she*) and *ta* (Eng. *the*)]. Occurs 17 times.

ingen, "daughter" [N.G. *nighean*; Old Celtic *andegena*; cf. Lat. *indigena;* root *gan*: Lat. *gigno*]. III 1, IV 1, VI 4.

inna "in its": innaienasi "in witness of it," V 10.

ipair, place name: IV 1.

is "is"; V 24. See *es*.

laboir "said " in *rolaboir*, I 19 [O Ir. *labraim*, N.G. *labhair*; root in Lat. *labrum*; Eng. *lip*].

laithi "day," acc. case, II 26 [O.Ir. *lathe*, N.G. *là*. Root unknown].

lán "full" I 7 [N.G. *làn*; Lat. *plenus*; Eng. *full.*]

leginn "reading;" III 10, gen. [Now lengha*dh*: *legenn* is Lat. *legendum.*]

leot, proper name: "Leod." Hence *Macleod*.

le "by," prep. I 12 [O.Ir. *la*, N.G. *le;* from *leth* (side); Lat. *latus* (Eng. *lateral.*)]

lesin "by the," for *lat-santan*.

lie? At V. 23; is it *lia*, *leac* stone [Eng. *plank*]? or read with *gort* as *gortlie ?* cf. Gartly.

luloig, "Lulach," King of Scotland; II 14, gen. Hence *Maculloch*.

lurchari, place name, but cf. *luirchaire* of O.Ir., "a foal." V 24, *ó dubuci go lurchari;* is cattle also grant d ?

mac "son," gen. *meic* and *mec*, II 15, II 20; V 1, 2; III 2. [Old Celtic *maquas*, Welsh *map*, N.G. *mac*: Eng. *maid.*]

mad "if" [O. Ir. *mad* = *ma-ta* (*if be*, si sit); N.G. *ma.*] I 10.

madbec "if little." I 10, See *bec*.

madchor in *achad-madchor*, V 4. [N. G. *machair*; M. Ir. *machaire*; Lat *maceria*; is it borrowed ?]

maer "steward," in *mormaer* passim. [N.G. *maor*, from Lat. *major.*]

mal "tonsured one—priest, slave;" it appears in personal names. [N.G. *maol*, O. Ir. *mael*, Welsh *moel* (bald.)]

malbrigte "slave of Bridget:" II 1; moilbrigte (gen.) II 13.

malbricin, Mal-bricin: IV 2.

malaechin, Mal-aechin VI 32.

malcolaim "Malcolm" [Columba's slave.] II 10, 13: Malcoloum II 11; Malcolaim (gen.) III 11; Malcoluim V 11.

malduib: Mael-duib "Maldufff," or MacDuff ?

Melechi, Malechi V 7.

maledonni, pr. name, III 7; compare Maelduin.

malgirc, Mal-giric, IV 2

mallact "curse;" V 26. [O.I. *maldacht*, N.G. *mallachd*; from Lat. *maledictio.*]

malmori, "Mary's slave." D.C.

malpetir, " Peter's slave." III 9.

malsnecte, Malsnectan, King of Scotland, II 14.

mandaidib "residences." [O.I. *mennat* and *mendat*: cf. *nansion.*] VI. 22.

mar "as," conj. [N.G. *mar* (as): rt. *sma*, Eng. *same* ?] I 2, marroalseg, see *mar-ro-(f) alseg*.

marb "dead" [N.G. *marbh* ; Lat. *mors*; Eng. *murder*]. V 10, mareb.

marr, "Mar," district name : III 8, gen.

matadin, pr. name, III 8.

Matain, pr. name, II 4.

mathe "nobles." [O. Ir. *maith*, N.G. *math*, Welsh *mad*, Gaulish *matos*. Root uncertain.]

matni, pr. name, gen. case VI 32.

mec. gen. of *mac. q.v.*

merlec "thief" [O. Ir. *merlech*, N.G. *meirleach* ; Gr. μαρπτω.] V 15, gen. pl.

molini pr. name., gen. V 12.

mór "great." [O. Ir. and N.G. *mór*, Welsh *mawr* ; for *magros* ; Lat. *magnus*.] It appears with *mormaer q.v.*, and also at V 23.

morcunn, pr. name, gen. II 2 ; morcunt II 8 ; morgunn (nom.) VI 31 ; morgainn (gen.) VI 10. [Compare Welsh *Morgan* and old Celtic *Moricantus* "sea bright" (Stokes.)] The surname Morgan still exists in Aberdeenshire.

mori "Mariae" (gen.) Mary ; D.C.

Moridac, pr. name. nom. II 2 ; muredig (gen.) III 10. Now "Murdoch."

mormaer "grand steward." [From *mor* and *maer*, q.v.] It appears *passim* : mormar (nom.) III 8 ; mormoir (gen.) II 5.

mulenn "mill," III 10. [N.G. *muileann*; from Lat. *molendinum*; Eng. *mill*.]

na "the," dat. and acc. pl.; nahule, II 16 ; II 25 ; II 4 : VI 11, 17 ; na glerec for *nan-clerec* I 10, 11 ; II, 9.

ná "not," in negative command [N.G. *na* ; Lat. *ne*]. nabad, I 17, "let not be."

naiaidnaisse, for *(in)na-a-(f)iadnaisse* "in its witness"—in witness of it.

néctan, pr. name, Nectan, III 6. Hence *MacNaughton*.

nesu "nearer, nearest ;" V 24 [O.Ir. *nesa*,] British *nes ;* Eng. *next*.

ní "not," negative particle [N.G. has got *chı=no co* or *na co q.v.* ni=Lat. *ne*] I 9.

ní "thing, res ;" VI 21, do nithissad; now *do na thig* (of what comes) [O.Ir. *ni*, N.G : *ni* for *ani*, neuter of article and *i* a locative of *e*.]

nice, for *gonice q.v.*

nolloce, "christmas" II 19 [N.G. *nollaig*, O.Ir. *notlaic* ; from Lat. *natalicia*.]

ó "from." It occurs *passim* as ó or ua [N.G. *o* and *bho* ; skt. *ava* ; Lat. *au-fero*.]

ocmad "eighth ;" III 5. [O.Ir. *ochtmad*, N.G. *ochdamh*; for actamatus ; Eng. *eigh-th ;*.]

óhunn ; see *o* and *sunn*.

orti, place name ; Gorti ? II. 1.

pet, a portion : only in place names and in Pictland [No N.G. unless *cuid* ; Welsh *peth* ; Lat. *petium* (Eng. *piece*) ; but whence ? Note there is no connection between *pet* and the English and Gaelic *pit*, borrowed from Lat. *puteus*]. *Passim*.

petir, "Peter ;' VI 15 dat ; petair VI 32 gen.; petir (gen.) III. 3, 9.

proinn (p*h*roinn ?), "dinner" [N.G. *proinn* ; from Lat. *prandium*], II 19. MS. has a mark over p which may mean aspiration.

pústa "wedded" VI 6 [N.G. *pósda*; from Lat. *sponsata* (Eng. *spouse*)].

rath "grace" I 7 [N.G. *rath*; Welsh *rhad*.]

ri "with," prep. I 7; II 24; III 2; VI 12, 13, 15. See *fri*.

ria "to, with" VI 14. See *fri*.

riig, "king," gen. sing. II 12 [O.Ir. *rí*, N.G. *rìgh* ; Lat. *rex*]

rigi "kingship, regnum;" III 5. [See *riig*.]

ris "against it" I 17 [*ri* and *se q. v*]

ro, tense particle, denoting past time [Lat. *pro*]. Many cases of it : ro-alseg, ro-bo, ro-laboir, &c., &c.

rosabard, place name, II. 13.

ruadri, person's name; II 9, gen : III 7, nom. Modern "Rory."

s, infixed pronoun at I 16, ro-*s*-henact. This *s* is same as Eng. *she* in root.

sacart, "priest" IV 2. [N.G. *sagart*; from Lat. *sacerdos* (Eng. *sacerdotal*.)]

saere, "freedom." I 5 ; sere II 26 ;
sér III 4 ; sóre V 7 ; saeri V 25.
[N.G. *saor* ; root, *so-fear* (good
man) ; Skt. *suvira*.]

sain, "that." See *sen*.

scali, "hut?": V 14. "Scali merlech"
is now Skillymarno, a mile N. of
Auchnachar.

scarthain "separating," gerund : I
18. [N.G. *sgar* ; Lat. *cerno* ; Eng.
crisis from Grk.]

se, "he;" in *esse* ? I 4. [*se*=Eng. *she*.]

sen "that." [N.G. *sin* ; root of Eng.
she.] I 6, 11, 15, 16 ; sain I 5.

sér at III 4. See *saere*.

si, "she;" I 7. [N.G. *si*; root of Eng.
she.]

sil "seed, race;" p V 2. [N.G. *siol* ;
Eng. *seed*.]

sithig, pr. name, gen : Sithech. V 3.

slante, "health," I 12, 15. [N.G.
slainte ; Lat. *salvus* ; Eng. *silly*.]

sliab, "hill," V 24 [N.G. *sliab* ; Lat.
silva (wood)].

sóre ; V 7. See *saere*.

sunn, "here ;" I 19 ó húnn [O.Ir.
sund ; root in *sen* and *d-as*.]

tabart, "giving," a gerund ; II 17
[O.Ir. *tabraim*, N.G. *tabhair* ; from
do-binr (*bear to*)] : I 9 tabrad, 3d
sing. pres. secondary, " might
give."

tánic, "came ;" 3d sing. pastind.;
I 14 [N.G. *thainig*; from do-*ananc*,
reduplicated form of Eng. root
nigh] : 3d pl. tangator.

tangator. See *tanic*.

thárat, "gave." Initially accented
form of *dorat* q.v.

temní. place name ; II 3.

testus (test*imonium* ?) "testimony,"
[N.G. *teisteas* ; from Lat.]

ticfa, "shall come." Future of
tanic ; for *do-ic-fa*; roots *to, nigh*
(*anc*), *be*].

thidnaig "bequeath ;" I 4 [N.G.
thiodhlaic ; from *do-ad*(*ath*)-*nac*-;
rt-*nac* ; Lat. *nactus* ; Eng. *nigh*.]

tipra "well :" I 13 tiprat (gen.)
[N.G. *tobair* : from *do-od-bur* ;
Eng. *to, out, burn*. See *dobor*.]

tisad, "should come," future condi-
tional, I 17 ; VI 21 ; disad I 12.
[Root in Eng. *stair*.]

toche, place name ; what is it ?

tosec, "chief, thane" [N.G. *toiseach*
from *tós*=*tovastu*-, root *tu* (to
increase.)] Variously spelt and
used *passim*.

tralin, prop. name IV 2

turbruad, " Turriff ;" III1 10; VI 27.

ua, prep. " from," see *ó*.

uactair ' upper part ;" hence top-
ographical " Auchter;" II 13 [N.G.
uachdair : from root *ōx*, seen in
Eng. *wax* Lat. *auxilium* ; Welsh
uch (above), Gaelic *úas*.]

úethé ; II 21 ?

húle " all " [N.G. *h-uile* ; Eng. *all*.]
II 16 ; á húle II 17 ; hulib (dat.)
III 4 ; VI 17 : huli VI 11 33.
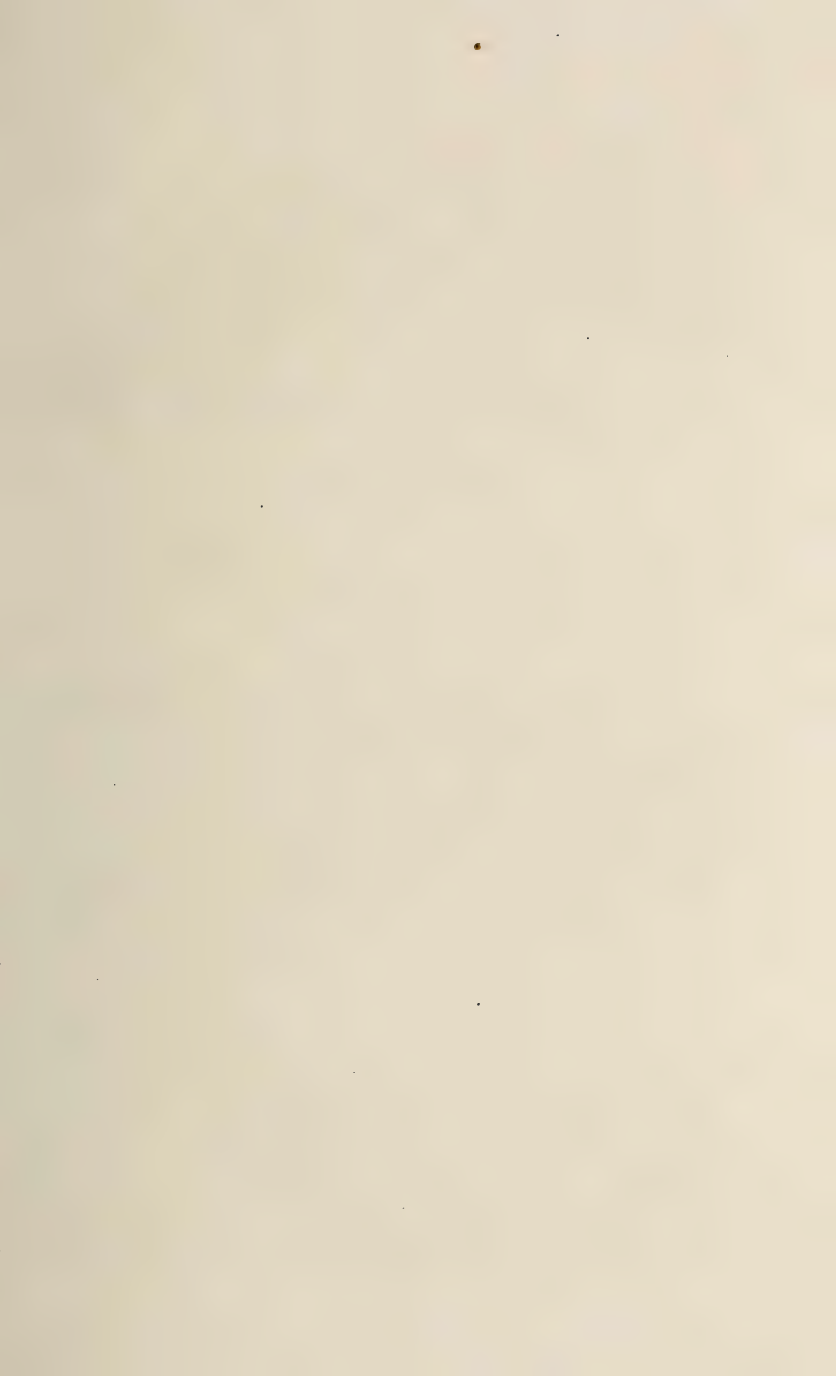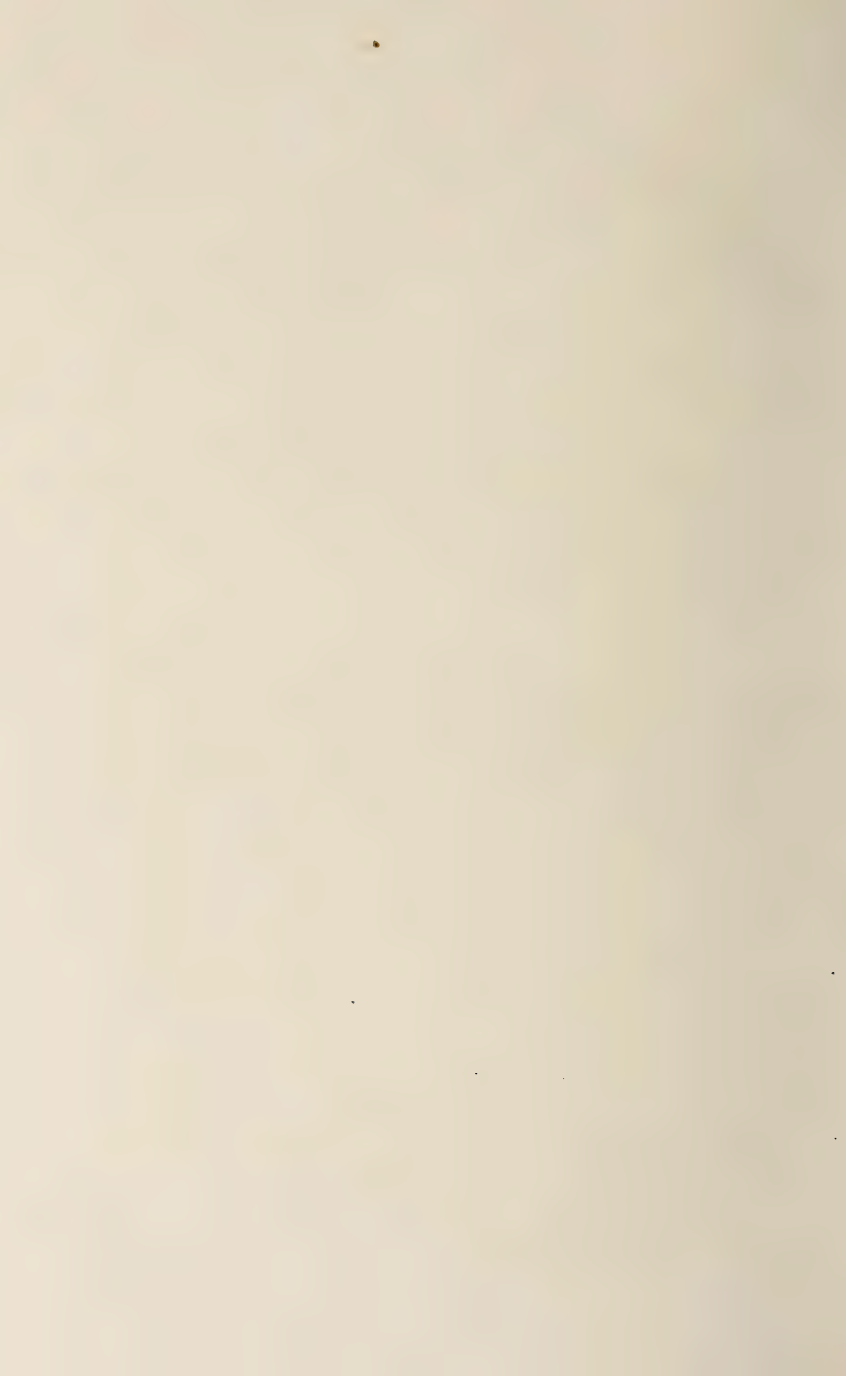
THE HEROIC AND OSSIANIC LITERATURE.

————∘o⊰⊙⊱oo————

Ireland and Scotland had practically a common language and literature until the fall of the Lordship of the Isles and the time of the Reformation, and even after these events, the ebb of Irish influence was felt in our earliest printed works and in the style of orthography and of language adopted. This close connection existed at least a thousand years, for in the fourth century the Picts and Scots were united together against the Romans and their dependants. The colonising of Argyllshire by Irish settlers— Scots they were called—is placed in the beginning of the sixth century; it is believed that a previous wave of Gaelic Celts—the Caledonians—had over-run and then held lordship over the rest of the country, having mingled with the previous bronze-age Picts, whose language, at least, the Gaelic was rapidly extinguishing. Be this as it may, the Scots from Ireland were a cultured and literary colony, and Columba, with his priests, soon followed in their wake. The Irish *Fili*, or poet, again followed in the wake of culture and Christianity, carrying the tales and poems of his country among a kindred people, and doubtless receiving in turn whatever Albanic genius was able to add to the common stock of Goidelic literature. This went on for centuries, and Scotland was a second home for the Irish Culdee, and for the Irish poet and harper. "Even in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries," says Dr Sullivan, "the Irish poets and

musicians included Scotland in their circuit, and took refuge, and
sought their fortune there.   We shall mention one instance as it
happens to be instructive in another way, that of Muireadhach
O'Daly, better known on account of his long stay in Scotland as
Muireadhach Albanach, or Muireach the Scotchman."   This
Muireach Albanach is believed to have been the ancestor of
the Mac Vurrichs, hereditary bards to Clanranald, and one of
them figures in the Ossianic controversy.   The literary language
remained Irish throughout, from the sixth to the sixteenth century,
and our first printed book is couched in the Irish of its time,
the sixteenth century.   That work is Bishop Carswell's Gaelic
Prayer-book.   And it, as the famous Irish scholar O'Donovan
said, " is pure Irish, and agrees with the Irish manuscripts
of the same period in orthography, syntax, and idiom."   The
literature, equally with the language, was common to both
countries ;   the mythic, heroic, and historic tales were the
same, practically, in each country.   But the end of the fifteenth
century saw a change begun ; a masterful policy was adopted to-
wards the Highlands, and the Lordship of the Isles, the great bond
between Ireland and Scotland, and indeed the great Gaelic head-
ship of the country, was broken up.   The Gaels of Scotland,
thrown on their own resources, advanced their own dialect to the
position of a literary language, and tried to discard the Irish or-
thography.   The first effort in this line is the Dean of Lismore's
Book, about 1512.   Little, however, was done in the matter of
writing down literary compositions, so that the next considerable
MS. is that of Fernaig in 1688.   At the same time the religious
literature still appeared in the Irish form, such as Carswell's book,
Kirke's works, and the Bible.   A compromise was effected last
century ; the popular dialect became the literary language, as it
ought, but the Irish orthography was adhered to still.

Scotland also dealt with the ballad and tale literature in much
the same way.   The purely popular part of the old Irish-Scottish
literature was retained ; the tales and ballads of Fionn and his
heroes were almost the only survivors of the mighty literature of
the middle and early ages.   We see the change beginning in the
Dean of Lismore's book ; the favourite heroic ballads are those in
regard to Fionn, but Cuchulinn is not neglected.   Nevertheless,
last century Macpherson could, without a word of protest from
friend or foe, bring Cuchulinn and Fionn together as contempor-
aries ; so much was Cuchulinn's real position in the Gaelic literary
cycles unknown.

This pre-Reformation literature, common to both Ireland and

Scotland, may be called not old Gaelic literature, for Gaelic is
ambiguous, but "Goidelic" literature. It is the literature of the
Goidelic or Gaelic branch of the Celtic race, as opposed to the
Brythonic branch—the Welsh, Cornish, and Breton. The Goidelic
literature suffered sadly at the hands of time ; first the monks gave
it their peculiar twist in trying to eliminate paganism from it ;
then the unhappy history of the country of Ireland, with its con-
tinuous wars since the advent of the Norse in the eighth century
onwards, checked the growth of literature, and much of it was
thereafter lost in the social wars that lasted on to our own times ;
for at times it was dangerous even to possess an Irish MS.
Goidelic literature is divisible into three cycles or groups.
There is, first, the mythological cycle ; this deals with the history
and ethnology of Ireland and Scotland ; second, the Cuchullin
cycle ; and, third, the Fionn or Ossianic cycle. The first cycle
deals with the mythical history of Ireland ; it was completely
recast by the monks of the early middle ages. Consequently the
Irish gods became merely earthly sovereigns, chiefs of an early
race that seized on and colonised Ireland. Monkish manufacture
begins Irish history before the flood, when the Lady Cesair took
the island. But she and her company were drowned, all except
Finntan, who survived the flood in a Druidic sleep and lived for
generations to relate the tale. Several post-deluvian "takings"
of the island then follow ; but the outstanding invasions
amount to four. These are, the Fir-bolgs, overcome by the Tuatha-
De-Danann, both of whom were successively annoyed by the Fo-
morians or sea-rovers ; and, lastly, came the Milesian or the real
Gaelic Irish race. The Fir-bolg, Fomorians, and Tuatha-De-
Danann fight with each other by means of Druidic arts mostly,
and it is incontestably established that the Tuatha-De, as indeed
the name shows, were the higher gods of the Gaels. The
Fomorians were the gods of misrule and death ; that is also
clear. The Fir-bolg may have been earth-powers, or they may
have been the pre-Celtic inhabitants ; it is hard to say. When
the Milesians arrived they found the Tuatha-De-Danann in pos-
session ; the Tuatha kept them at bay by Druid magic, but at
last came to terms with the Milesians or Gaels, gave up Ireland
to them, and themselves retired to the *Sids* or fairy mounds, and
to the Land of Promise, from which places they still watched and
tended the actions of men. Now these facts, such as they are,
appear in sober chronological order in the Irish annals, with
minute details and genealogies. The Tuatha-De came to Ireland
in the year 1900 B.C., and the Milesians in 1700. Such is the

mythological cycle. Now we pass over close on 1700 years, for
all of which, however, Irish history finds kings and minute details
of genealogies. A few years before our era there was a Queen
over Connaught named Meave (Medb), whose consort and
husband was Ailill. He was a weak and foolish man, and
she was a masterful woman, very beautiful, but not very
good. Some tales make her half divine — that a fairy or
Sidé was her mother. This Ailill was her third husband.
She had been married to Conchobar Mac Nessa, King of
Ulster, but they mutually divorced each other The reign
and rule of Conchobar is the golden age of Irish romance ;
it is in fact the "Cuchulinn" cycle. It was in his reign, that
the third of the Sorrowful Tales of Erin was enacted. The first
concerned the children of Lir, a prince of the Tuatha-De, whose
children were enchanted by their stepmother, and became swans,
suffering untold woes for ages, until their spells were broken
under Christian dispensation. The second sorrowful tale had, as
its theme, the children of Turenn, whom Luga, prince of the Tua-
tha-Dè, the sun god, persecuted and made to undergo all sorts of
toils and dangers. The third tale concerns the reign of Concho-
bar, not the age of the gods. The subject of it is the woes of
Deirdre, well known in both Scotland and Ireland. Deirdre was
daughter of the bard Feidlimid, and, shortly before her birth, the
Druid Cathbad prophesied that she should be the cause of woes
unnumbered to Ulster. The warriors were for killing her, but
Conchobar decided to bring her up to be his own wife, and
evade the prophecy. She was kept apart in a *lis* (fortress),
where she could not see a man until she should wed Concho-
bar. Her tutor and nurse alone saw her. The tutor was one
day killing a calf in the snow, and a raven came, and was
drinking the blood of the calf. Deirdre said to her nurse that she
would like to have the man who would have the "three colours
yonder on him ; namely, his hair like the raven, his cheek like the
blood, and his body like the snow." The nurse told her such a
person was near enough—Nois, the son Uisnech. There were
three brothers of them, Nois, Ardan, and Ainle, and they sang so
sweetly that every human being who heard them were enchanted,
and the cattle gave two-thirds additional milk. They were fleet
as hounds in the chase, and the three together could defy a
province. Deirdre managed to meet Nois and boldly proposed to
him to fly with her. He refused at first, but she prevailed. He,
his brothers, and their company fled with her. After wandering
round all Erin, they were forced to come to Alba. They made

friends with the king of Alba and took service under him. But the king came to hear of Deirdre's beauty and he must have her. The men of Alba gathered against the brothers and they had to fly. Their flight was heard of in Erin, and Conchobar was pressed to receive them back. Fergus Mac Roich, Conchobar's stepfather, and Cormac, Conchobar's son, took the sons of Uisnech under their protection, and brought them to Ulster. Conchobar got some of his minions to draw Fergus and Cormac away from them, and then the sons of Uisnech were attacked, defenceless as they were, and were slain. Conchobar took Deirdre as his wife, but a year afterwards she killed herself, by striking her head against a rock, from grief for Nois and from Conchobar's cruelty.

The Scotch version of the tale differs from the Irish only in the ending. Deirdre and the sons of Uisnech were sailing on the sea ; a fog came on and they accidentally put in under the walls of Conchobar's town. The three landed and left Deirdre on board ; they met Conchobar and he slew them. Then Conchobar came down to the sea and invited Deirdre to land. She refused, unless he allowed her to go to the bodies of the sons of Uisnech:

> " Gun taibhrinn mo thri poga meala
> Do na tri corpa caomh geala."

On her way she met a carpenter slicing with a knife. She gave him her ring for the knife, went to the bodies, stretched herself beside them, and killed herself with the knife.

Macpherson's poem of Darthula opens with an invocation to the moon, and then we are introduced to the sons of Uisnech and Darthula, on the sea near *Cairbar's* camp, driven there by a storm, the night before their death. This brings us *in medias res*, as all true epics should do, and the foregoing part of the story is told in the speeches of Darthula and Nathos, a somewhat confusing dialogue, but doubtless "epic." These previous facts are, that Darthula is daughter of Colla. Cairbar, who usurped the Irish throne on the death of Cuchulinn, regent for young Cormac, and put Cormac to death, was in love with Darthula. Cuchulinn was uncle to the sons of Uisnech, and Nathos took command on his death, but had to fly, for the Irish army deserted him for Cairbar. On his way to Scotland he fell in with Darthula, and rescued her from Cairbar ; they put out for Scotland, but were driven back. Cairbar met them and killed them with arrows, one of which pierced Darthula. Macpherson naively says : "The poem relates the death of Darthula differently from the common tradition. This account is the most probable, as suicide seems to

have been unknown in those early times, for no traces of it are found in the old poetry." Yet Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, committed suicide only fifty years later, to escape Roman tyranny and lust! The oldest Irish version is in a MS. written nearly 700 years ago, and the composition may be much older, yet there Deirdre unpoetically knocks out her brains, evidently because no weapon could be had. The Scotch version ends far more poetically than either Macpherson's or the Irish one.

Fergus Mac Roich and Cormac Conloingeas, son of Conchobar, who had taken the sons of Uisnech under their protection, took vengeance for the sons of Uisnech, as far as they could, and then withdrew to the court of Queen Meave. Fergus was there her chief counsellor and friend.

Now we come to Cuchulinn, son of Sualtam, "fortissmus heros Scotorum," as Tigernach says. Like all mythic and fairy-tale heroes, strange tales are told of his birth. Dechtine, sister of Conchobar, lost a foster-child of somewhat supernatural descent. On coming from the funeral she asked for a drink; she got it, and as she raised it to her lips a small insect sprang into her mouth with the drink. That night the god Luga of the Long Arms appeared to her and said that she had now conceived by him. As a result, she became pregnant. As she was unmarried, the scandal was great, but a weak-minded chief named Sualtam married her. She bore a son, and he was called Setanta, and this Setanta latterly got the name of Cuchulinn. The way Setanta got the name of Cuchulinn was this. Culand the smith invited Conchobar and his train to spend a night and a day in his house, and when closing the door for the night he asked Conchabar if he expected any more of his people to come. He did not. Culand then let loose his house dog and shut the door. But the boy Setanta came late and was set on by the furious animal. A severe fight took place, but Setanta killed the animal. The smith demanded *eric* for the dog and Setanta offered to watch the house until a pup of that dog should grow up. This he did, and hence got the name of Cu-chulaind, the dog of Culann.

This is evidently a myth founded on a popular etymology of Cuchulinn's name, and, though a smith, always a Druidic and mythic character, is introduced, it may have no further significance. Some of his youthful exploits are told. He prayed his mother to let him go to his uncle's court among the other boys; he goes, and appears a stranger among the boys playing hurley or shinty before the castle. They all set on him and let fly all their "camags" and balls at him; the balls he caught and the hurleys

he warded off. Then his war rage seized him. "He shut one eye till it was not wider than the eye of a needle; he opened the other till it was bigger than the mouth of a meal-goblet." He attacked the youths and set them flying every way. Conchobar recognised him and introduced him to the boys. The next thing was the choosing of arms when he was fit to bear them. Conchobar gave him first ordinary weapons, but he shivered them with a shake. Fifteen sets did he so break in ever rising grade of strength. At last Conchobar gave him his own royal weapons. These he could not shiver. Fifteen war-chariots did he break by leaping into them and shaking them, until he got the king's own chariot, which withstood him. He and the charioteer then darted off, reached Meath, challenged and slew three champions, and came back again to Emania, his uncle's capital, safe and sound.

A wife had now to be got for him, and Conchobar searched all Erin for a suitable partner, but in vain. The ladies of Erin greatly loved him, as the records say — "for his splendour at the feat, for the readiness of his leap, for the excellence of his wisdom, for the melodiousness of his eloquence, for the beauty of his face, for the lovingness of his countenance. For there were seven pupils in his royal eyes, four in the one and three in the other for him; seven fingers on each of his two hands and seven on each of his two feet." And another says, after the usual profusion of colour and minutiae as to garments—"I should think it was a shower of pearls that was flung into his head. Blacker than the side of a black cooking-spit each of his two brows; redder than ruby his lips." The Highland ballad of the Chariot of Cuchulin describes him even better and certainly in true Celtic style of successive epithets. Cuchulinn himself set out for a wife, and fell in with Emer, daughter of Forgill, a "noble farmer" holding extensive lands near Dublin. "Emer had these six victories upon her," says the tale, "the victory of form, the victory of voice, the victory of melodiousness, the victory of embroidery, the victory of wisdom, the victory of chastity." Emer did not immediately accept him, though latterly she was violently in love with him. Her father would not have him at all; he did not like professional champions. He got him to leave the country to complete his military education with the celebrated lady Scathach in the Isle of Skye. Cuchulinn went to Scathach, whose school was certainly no easy one to enter or pass through. Here he learned all those wonderful feats— *cleasa*—for which he is so famous in story. His special *cleas* was the *gae bolq* or belly-dart, a mysterious weapon mysteriously used, for it could only be cast at fords on water. It was at Scat-

hach's school that he fell in with Ferdia MacDamain, the Fir-bolg
champion, who was the only man that could match Cuchulinn.
Their friendship was great for one another, and they swore never
to oppose one another.

Aoife or Eva, daughter of Scathach, and also an amazon,
fell in love with Cuchulinn, and he temporarily married her, but
like those heroes, he forgot her as soon as he left her. His son
by her, Conloch, was not born before he left. When Cuchulinn
returned to Erin he married Emer, daughter of Forgill, taking her
by force from her friends.

We now come to the great "Tain Bo Chualgne," the "queen of
Celtic epics," as Kennedy says. The scene shifts to Meave's palace
at Cruachan. She and Ailill have a dispute in bed one night as to
the amount of property each had. They reckoned cattle, jewels,
arms, cloaks, chess-boards, war-chariots, slaves, and nevertheless
found their possessions exactly equal. At last Ailill recollected the
famous bull Finn-beannach (white-horned), which, after having
ruled Meave's herds for a while, left them in disgust, as being the
property of a woman, and joined the cattle of Ailill. Much
chagrin was her portion, until she recollected that Daré of Facht-
na in Cualgne possessed a brown bull, *Donn Chuailgne*, the finest
beast in all Erin. She sent Fergus Mac Roich, with a company,
to ask the bull for a year, and he should then be returned with
fifty heifers and a chariot worth 63 cows. Daré consented, and
and lodged Meave's deputies for the night. But getting uproarious
in their cups, they boasted that if Daré would not give the bull
willingly, they would take it by force. This so annoyed Daré that
he sent Meave's embassy back without the bull. The queen was
enraged, and at once summoned her native forces, including Ferdia
and his Firbolg, and invited Fergus and Cormac to join her with
all their followers. This they did, but unwillingly. So the large
army moved against Ulster, Meave accompanying them in her
chariot—a lady of large size, fair face, and yellow hair, a curiously
carved spear in her hand, and her crimson cloak fastened by a
golden brooch.

The people of Ulster, meanwhile, were suffering from a
periodical feebleness that came upon them for a heinous crime
committed by them. They were, therefore, in a condition of
childish helplessness, and they could neither hold shield or throw
lance.

But when Meave, at the head of her exulting troops, ap-
proached the fords which gave access to the territory of Daré,
there stood Cuchulinn. He demanded single combat from the

best warriors of her army, laying injunctions on them not to pass the ford until he was overcome. The spirit and usages of the time put it out of Meave's power to refuse, and there, day after day, were severe conflicts waged between the single Ultonian champion and the best warriors of Meave, all of whom he successively vanquished. Meave even called in the aid of magic spells. One warrior was helped by demons of the air, in bird shape, but in vain, and the great magician, Cailetin and his twenty-seven sons, despite their spells, also met their doom. Cuchulinn further is persecuted by the war goddess, the Morrigan, who appears in all shapes to plague him and to frighten the life of valour out of his soul. Cuchulinn is not behind in daimonic influence, for with the help of the Tuatha-Dè—Manannan especially—he does great havoc among Meave's troops, circling round them in his chariot, and dealing death with his sling. Meave is getting impatient; time is being lost; the Ultonians will soon revive, and Cuchulinn must be got rid off. She calls on Ferdia, the only match there exists for Cuchulinn, but he refuses to fight with his school days' friend. Nay, he would by his vows be forced to defend him against all comers. The queen plies him in every way with promises, wiles, and blandishments; he will get Findabar, her daughter, for wife, and lands and riches; and, alas! he consents, he binding himself to fight Cuchulinn, and she binding herself to fulfil her magnificent promises. Fergus goes forward to apprise Cuchulinn of what occurred, that his friend and companion, Ferdia, was coming to fight with him. "I am here," said Cuchulinn, "detaining and delaying the four great provinces of Erin, since Samhain to the beginning of Imbulc (spring), and I have not yielded one foot in retreat before any one during that time, nor will I, I trust, before him." Cuchulinn's charioteer gets his chariot yoked, with the two divine horses—those mystic animals that the gods had sent for Cuchulinn, the Liath Macha "Grey of Macha," the war-goddess, and the Dub-sanglend. "And then," says the tale, "the battle-fighting, dexterous, battle-winning, red-sworded hero, Cuchulinn, son of Sualtam, sprang into his chariot. And there shouted around him Bocanachs, and Bananachs, and Geniti Glindi, and demons of the air. For the Tuatha-De-Danann were used to set up shouts around him, so that the hatred and the fear and the abhorrence and the great terror of him should be greater in every battle, in every battlefield, in every combat, and in every fight into which he went."

Ferdia's charioteer, who does not wish his master to fight with

his friend, Cuchulinn, hears Cuchulinn coming thundering to the ford, and describes the sound and its meaning to Ferdia in verse, following the introductory narrative. And he was not long " until he saw something, the beautiful, flesh-seeking, four-peaked chariot, with speed, with velocity, with full cunning, with a green pavilion, with a thin-bodied, dry-bodied, high-weaponed, long-speared, warlike *creit* (body of the chariot); upon two fleet-bounding, large-eared, fierce, prancing, whale-bellied, broad-chested, lively-hearted, high-flanked, wide-hoofed, slender-legged, broad-rumped, resolute horses under it. A gray, broad-hipped, fleet, bounding, long-maned steed under the one yoke of the chariot. A black tufty-maned, ready-going, broad-backed steed under the other yoke. Like unto a hawk (swooping) from a cliff on a day of hard wind; or like a sweeping gust of the spring wind on a March day, over a smooth plain; or like the fleetness of a wild stag on his being first started by the hounds in his first field, were Cuchulaind's two horses with the chariot, as though they were on fiery flags; so that the earth shook and trembled with the velocity of their motion."

The heroes met at the ford—Cuchulinn is always connected with ford-fighting. They fought for three days, and on the fourth the fight was terrible and the feats grand; Cuchulinn hard pressed calls for his gae-bolg—a feat which Ferdia was unacquainted with, and Cuchulinn slays him. Cuchulinn mourns over his friend's body in piteous strains, and weak with grief and wounds he leaves his place at the ford, which he had defended so long and well.

Meave now passed into Ulster, seized the Donn Chualgne, and sent it to Connaught; she ravaged Ulster to the very gates of its capital, and then began to retire. But now the spell that bound the men of Ulster was broken, they woke and pursued; a great battle was fought in which, as usual, the combatants and arms are described minutely; indeed throughout the Tain we are treated to a profusion of colour—of red or yellow hair on the warriors' heads, coloured silk *leiné* or blouses, mantles held by rich brooches, and finely wrought shields. The Queen was defeated, but the Donn Chualgne reached Connaught nevertheless. This wonderful animal finding himself among strange pastures, gave vent to his wonder and vexation in a serious of mighty bellows. These brought the Finnbeannach on the scene at once; they fought, the Donn overcame and raising his rival on his horns rushed homewards, leaving detached parts of the Finnbeannach here and there on his way; such as at Athlone, which signifies the ford of the loin. His rage ceased not when he reached Cualgne, but he

went charging against a rock there thinking it was his rival, and thus dashed out his own brains.

Such is the story of the epic of the "Bo Chualgne." This does no justice to the spirit and vigour of the original, its wealth of description of men, arms, and colours, its curious customs, its minutiæ, its wordlists of descriptive epithets, all which are characteristic of the Celtic imagination—profuse, minute, and boldly original. As a repertory of manners and customs, it is invaluable. These are in their general form Homeric, literally Homeric; but there are differences—there is always the Celtic smack in the facts seized on and made prominent, and, in other matters, though for instance we have chariots and horses and bronze arms enough, we meet with no body armour, not even a helmet.

In Scotland, Tain Bo Chualgne is little known; the Cuchulinn Cycle altogether, indeed, belongs to the literary rather than the popular epos. But this Society has been lucky enough to get almost the only popular account of the Tain that exists in the Highlands. In the Second Volume of our Transactions, Mr Carmichael gives an excellent version of it, much degraded though it be in the shape of a mere popular tale. Yet it practically repeats every feature of the tale we have told. Macpherson, too, got a copy the tale, and it appears as that inveterate episode, in Book II. of Fingal, but sadly shorn of its dignity, and changed to suit his theme. Cuchulinn, after his defeat by Swaran, attributes his ill-luck to his having killed his dearest friend, Ferda, the son of Damman. Ferda was a chief of Albion, who was educated with Cuchulinn in "Muri's hall" (sic), an academy of arms in Ulster. Deugala, spouse of Cairbar, who was "covered with the light of beauty, but her heart was the house of pride," loved Ferda, and asked Cairbar to give her half of his herd and let her join her lover. Cairbar called in Cuchulinn to divide the herd. "I went," he said, "and divided the herd. One bull of snow remained. I gave that bull to Cairbar. The wrath of Deugala rose." She induced Ferda most unwillingly to challenge Cuchulinn to mortal combat. "I will fight my friend, Deugala, but may I fall by his sword! Could I wander on the hills and behold the grave of Cuchulinn?" They fought and Ferda fell.

The eighteeneth century sentimentality of Macpherson's Ferda is very different from the robust grief and practical sense shown by Ferdia in his relations with Meave in both the Irish and Highland version of the tale. Ferdia there consents under the influence of wine and female blandishment, but nevertheless takes heavy

guarantees that Meave will fulfil her promises, especially as to the money and lands. Curiously too, in the Iliad, the Greeks always fight for Helen *and the riches* she took with her to Asia. There is little sentiment in the matter. But if we argue merely *a priori* as to what sentiments or customs existed in ancient times, we are certain to go wrong, as Macpherson always did.

The rest of Cuchulinn's life is shortly told, and this portion of it is also the one that has taken most popular hold, and hence is known best here. We have mentioned that he left a son unborn in Scathach. This was Conloch. His mother educated him in all warlike accomplishments possible, save only the "gae-bolg." She then sent him to Ireland under "geasa" not to reveal his name, but he was to challenge and slay if need be the champions there. She secretly hoped in this way that he would kill his father Cuchulinn, and so avenge her wrongs. He landed in Ireland, demanded combat, and overcame everybody. He lastly overcame and bound Conall Cernach, next to Cuchulinn the best champion of Erin. Then Conchobar sent for Cuchulinn; he came—asked Conloch his name, but he would not divulge it. Conloch knew his father Cuchulinn, and though Cuchulinn pressed him hard, he tried to do him no injury. Cuchulinn, finding the fight go against him, called, as in his extremity he always did, for the Gae-Bolg. He killed Conloch. Then follows a scene of tender and simple pathos, such as not rarely ends these ballads of genuine origin. The story is exactly parallel to that of Soohrab and Rustem in Persia, so beautifully rendered in verse by Matthew Arnold.

A wild and pathetic story is that of Cuchulinn's death. Meave, determined to avenge herself on him for the Tain Bo Chualgne, suddenly attacked him with a force that took her years to get ready. For instance, the six posthumous children of Cailetin, the magician, whom Cuchulinn killed on the Tain, appeared against him. The omens were against Cuchulinn's setting out; the divine horse, the Liath Macha, thrice turned his left side to him ; he reproached the steed ; "thereat the Gray of Macha came and let his big round tears of blood fall on Cuchulinn's feet." He went ; the Tuatha-Dè evidently and plainly deserted him ; the magician children of Cailetin had therefore open field. He fell by his own spear, hurled back by the foe. But Conall Cernach came to avenge his fall ; and as he came, the foe saw something at a distance. "One horseman is here coming to us," said a charioteer, "and great are the speed and swiftness with which he comes. Thou wouldst deem that the ravens of Erin were above him. Thou wouldst deem that flakes of snow were specking the

plain before him." "Unbeloved is the horseman that comes," says his master, "It is Conall the victorious on the Dewy-Red. The birds thou sawest above him are the sods from that horse's hoofs. The snow flakes thou sawest specking the plain before him are the foam from that horse's lips and the curbs of the bridle." A true piece of Celtic imagination! Conall routs the foe and returns with the heads of the chief men to Emer, Cuchulinn's wife, whom the ballads represent as asking whom each head belonged to, and Conall tells her in reply. The dialogue is consequently in a rude dramatic form.

We now come to the Fionn or Ossianic cycle. The chroniclers, as already stated, place this cycle three hundred years later than the Cuchulinn cycle. Whether we accept the dates or not, the Ossianic cycle is, in a literary sense, later than the Cuchulinn cycle. The manners and customs are changed in a most marked degree. In the Cuchulinn cycle, the individual comes to the front; it is champion against champion, and the armies count for little. Indeed Cuchulinn is, like Hercules and the demi-gods, alone in his feats and labours. But in the Ossianic cycle we have a body of heroes; they are indeed called in the chronicles the Irish "Militia." Fionn is the head and king, but he by no means too much outshines the rest in valour and strength. Some of the Feni are indeed braver champions than he. However, he alone possesses divine wisdom. And, again, in the Fenian cycle, we no longer have chariots and war-horses. Cow-spoils disappear completely, and their place is taken up with hunting and the chase. On the whole the Fenian cycle has more of a historic air; that is, the history in it can be more easily kept apart from the supernatural; though, again, there are more tales of supernatural agencies by far in it than in the Cuchulinn cycle—fairy tales which have no historical basis. It will be better, therefore, to look at Fionn first as a possibly historical character, and then consider him as the fairy-tale hero.

The literary and historical account of Fionn and the Feinè is briefly this. The Feinè was the militia or standing army of the Irish kings in the third century. They fought the battles and and defended the kingdom from invasion. There were seven battalions of them. Their privileges were these:—From Samhain (Hallowe'en) till Beltane (May-day) they were billeted on the inhabitants; from Beltane till Samhain they lived on the products of the chase, for the chase was all their own. Again, no man could settle his daughter in marriage without first asking if one of the Feinè wished her as wife. But the qualifications of Fenian

soldiers were high : he must, first, give security that no *eric*, or revenge, must be required for his death ; second, he must be a poet—at least compose a war song ; third, he must be a perfect master of his weapons ; fourth, his running and fighting qualities must pass test by the band ; fifth, he must be able to hold out his weapon by the smaller end without a tremble ; sixth, in the chase through plain and wood, his hair must continue tied up— if it fell, he was rejected ; seventh, he must be so light and swift as not to break a rotten stick by standing on it ; eighth, he must leap a tree as high as his forehead, and get under a tree no higher than his knees ; ninth, without stopping, he must be able to draw a thorn from his foot ; also, he must not refuse a woman without a dowry, offer violence to no woman, be charitable to the poor and weak, and he must not refuse to fight nine men of any other nation that might set upon him. Cumal, son of Trenmor O'Baisgne, was Fionn's father, and he was head of the militia in King Conn Ced-cathach's time (122-157, A.D.). Tadhg, or Teague, chief Druid of Conn, lived at Almu, or Almhinn (Allen in Kildare), and he had a beauty of a daughter named Muirne. She was asked in marriage by ever so many princes, and amongst others by Cumal. Her father refused her to Cumal, because his magic knowledge told him the marriage would force him to leave Almhinn. Cumal took Muirne by force and married her. The druid appealed to Conn, who sent his forces against Cumal. Cumal was killed in battle at Cnucha by Aed, son of Morna, and Aed himself was wounded in the eye, whence his name of Goll, or one-eyed. This is the celebrated champion and Fenian rival of Fionn—Goll Mac Morna. Her father wished to burn Muirne, evidently because of his prophetic knowledge of personal disaster, but she escaped to Cumal's sister. Here she gave birth to Fionn or Demni, as he was first named. He, when he grew up, forced Tadhg to give him Almhinn as *eric* for his father, and he also got *eric* from Goll, with whom he made peace. Another fact, historically recognisable, is Fionn's marriage to Grainne, daughter of Cormac, son of Art and king of Ireland. She eloped with Diarmad ; Fionn pursued them, and after various vicissitudes captured them, but the Feinè would not permit him to punish the runaways in any way. Their privileges made the Feinè troublesome, and King Cairbre, son of Cormac, tried to disband them, owing more immediately to dynastic troubles, and in any case the Clan Morna, headed by Goll, were at daggers drawn with the Clan Baisgne, Fionn's family. Cairbre, aided by the Clan Morna, met the Clan Baisgne at Gabhra in 284, and a great fight was fought. Oscar

commanded the Clan Baisgne ; there was great slaughter and almost extinction for Oscar's side. Cairbre and he mutualiy slew each other. Ossian and Caoilte were the only survivors of note. The historical accounts place Fionn's death in the year before this battle, though the ballads and popular tradition are distinctly against such a view. Fionn was slain, it is said, at Rath-breagha, on the Boyne, by a treacherous fisherman named Athlach, who, wished to become famous as the slayer of Fionn. Fionn had retired there in his old age.

Both in Scotland and Ireland there are some historical ballads that connect Fionn with the invasions of the Norsemen, but these can hardly be seriously considered as containing historical truth, that is, if we trust the above account, which places the Feinè in the 3rd century. The Norsemen made no invasions into Ireland sooner than the 8th century ; that is a historical fact. The period of the Norse and Danish invasions are, roughly, from 800 to close on 1300. The ballads of Manus and Earragon may have a historical basis ; there is little supernatural or impossible in them. Manus is a well-known name in both Scotland and Ireland, and, without a doubt, the great Magnus Barefoot, who was killed in Ireland in 1103, is meant. At the same time, the ballad must be rejected as history ; it is a popular tale, where St Patrick, Ossian, and Magnus appear as nigh well contemporaries. The popular hero of the romantic tale is Fionn, and hence anything heroic and national that is done, be it in an early age or in a late, is attributed, by the popular imagination, to the popular hero. Manus, a historical character, stuck to the popular fancy, because he was the last important invader of Ireland. It could not be expected that our romantic ballads would not receive both additions and local colouring in coming through the ages of Norse invasion. Fionn and his heroes are lay figures, to which were attached any striking or exciting events that the nation may have had to go through.

So much for the Fionn of history. Let us now turn to the hero of the romantic and fairy tales. Fionn in history, such as it is, is merely a great warrior and champion, but in the popular imagination he belongs to the race of the giants, and has kinship with the supernatural powers. He is in fact a mortal champion moving in a fairy atmosphere. Nor is the popular notion of Fionn of late growth ; we shall, indeed, find reason to suspect that it anteceded the historical conception—that what is historical is merely rationalised myth. A charter of the reign of Alexander the Second in the early part of the 13th century

speaks of Tuber na Fein, which is glossed by "feyne, of the grett or kempis men callit ffenis, is ane well." This, which is only a hundred years later than the oldest Irish MS. account of Fionn, is exactly the present day popular notion of the Feine. They were giants. About 1500 Hector Boece can thus write of Fyn Mak Coul :—" Virum uti ferunt immani statura, septenum enim cubitorum hominem fuisse narrant, Scotici sanguinis omnibusque insolita corporis mole formidolosum." Thus, much to the disgust of Keating, the Irish historian, he makes him a giant some seven cubits high, makes him also a Scotchman, and fixes his date about 450 A.D.; and he further tells us that Fyn was renowned in stories, such as was told of King Arthur. Bishop Leslie in the same century says that Fynmacoul was a "man of huge size and sprung, as it were, from the race of the giants." Gavin Douglas, about 1500, also speaks of

" Greit Gow Macmorne and Fyn Mac Cowl, and how
They suld be goddis in Ireland as they say."

Dunbar, the contemporary poet, says :—

" My fore grandsyr, hecht Fyn Mac Cowl,
That dang the deil and gart him yowll,
The skyis rained when he wald scoull,
    He trublit all the air :

He got my grandsyr Gog Magog;
Ay whan he dansit the warld wald schog ;
Five thousand ellis gaed till his frog,
    Of Hieland pladdis, and mair."

The world shook when Fionn danced ! Martin, in his " Western Isles," calls him a " gigantic man." And in Ireland also, as in Scotland, Fionn and his heroes are among the people considered to be giants, " the great joiant Fann Mac Cuil," as Kennedy calls him, after the style of the peasantry who relate tales of Fionn. Mr Good, a priest at Limerick in 1566, speaks of the popular " giants Fion Mac Hoyle, and Oshin (read Osgur) Mac Oshin." Standish O' Grady, in his lately published History of Ireland, places the Fianna back in the dawn of Irish history— gigantic figures in the dusky air. " Ireland is their playground. They set up their goals in the North and South in Titanic hurling matches, they drive their balls through the length and breadth of it, storming through the provinces." Macpherson found the ballads and stories full of this, and as usual, he stigmatises them as Irish and middle-age. He quotes as Irish this verse ;—

> " A chos air *Cromleach*, druim-ard,
>   Chos eile air Crom-meal dubh,
>   Thoga Fion le lamh mhoir
>   An d' uisge o Lubhair na sruth."

With one foot on lofty Cromlech, and the other on black Crom-meal, Fionn could take up the water in his hand from the river Lubar ! Yet the hills can still be pointed out in Macpherson's native Badenoch where Fionn did this ; but Macpherson, as usual, gives them his own poetic names. Carn Dearg and Scorr Gaoithe, at the top of Glen-Feshie, are the hills, and the *Fionn-tag*, a tributary of the Feshie, is the poetic " Lubhar." He has therefore to reduce the Fionn of the popular tales and ballads, to proper epic dimensions—to divorce him, as he says himself, from the " giants, enchanted castles, dwarfs, palfreys, witches, and magicians," which he thinks were imposed on the Fionn epic in the fifteenth century, and continued still to be the popular idea of Fionn and his heroes.

The popular imagination accounts for this tallness in a rationalistic manner worthy of any euhemerist historian. In Campbell's Popular Tales, this is how the Een was set up. An old King of Erin, hard pressed by the Lochlinners, consults his seneschal as to the best course to pursue. The latter advises him to marry 100 of the tallest men in the kingdom to the same number of the tallest women ; then again to intermarry 100 of each sex of the tallest of their descendants, and so on to the third generation. This would give him a gigantic race able to cope with any foe. The thing was done. And in the third generation a gigantic race was the result. Their captain and king was Cumal, and he defeated the Lochlinners and forced them to terms of peace.

There are various turns given to the story of Fionn's birth, but they all agree that his father was killed before his birth, that he was carried off and reared in secret, that he did great youthful feats, that his first name was Demni, and that he was called Fionn from his white head. Most tales also tell how he ate the salmon of knowledge. The best form of the whole tale is this. Cumhal was going to battle, and in passing a smithy, while his horses were being shod, he went in to see the smith's daughter. The smith on learning what happened cursed the king, and hoped he would not return safe from the fight. Smiths and druids were uncanny in those days, and his wish was gratified; Cumhal fell in the battle. The new king heard of the smith's daughter, and ordered her to be imprisoned. If she gave birth to a daughter,

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the daughter might be allowed to live, but a son must be put to death, for he would be the true heir to the throne. She brought forth a daughter, and all his watch rushed to tell the King ; but, before the night was through, she also brought a boy into the world. The nurse, Luas Lurgann, rolled the child up in the end of her gown and rushed off to the woods, where she brought him up in secret. She exercised him in all kinds of feats—running, *cleasa* of all kinds, and arms. She took him one day to play hurley—shinty—with the boys of the King's town. He beat everybody and then began to maul and kill right and left. The king heard of it and came out ; " Co e an gille *Fionn* ud," said he, " tha mortadh nan daoine ?" (who is that *Fair* lad killing the people ?) The nurse clapped her hands for joy and said :— " Long hast thou wanted to be baptized, but to-day thou art indeed baptized, and thou art *Fionn* son of Cumhal son of Trenmor, and rightful king of Erin." With this she rushed away, taking the boy on her shoulders. They were hotly pursued ; Luas Lurgann's swiftness of old was failing her. Fionn jumped down, and carried her in turn. He rushed through the woods, and when he halted in safety he found he had only the two legs of his nurse left over his shoulders—the rest of her body had been torn away in the wood. After some wanderings he came to Essroy, famous for its mythic salmon—the salmon of all knowledge. Here he found a fisher fishing for the king, and he asked for a fish to eat. The fisher never yet had caught fish though he had fished for years. A prophecy said that no fish would be got on it till Fionn came. The fisher cast his line in Fionn's name and caught a large salmon —it was too large for Fionn, he said, and he put him off each time. Fionn got the rod himself and landed a bigger salmon still. The fisher, who had recognised who he was, allowed him to have a small fish of his lot, but he must roast it with the fire on one side the stream and the fish on the other, nor must he use any wood in the process. He set fire to some sawdust, and the wind blew a wave of fire over to the fish and burned a spot on it. Fionn put his thumb on the black spot ; it burnt him and he put the thumb in his mouth. Then he knew everything ; the fisher was Black Arcan who slew his father. He seized Arcan's sword, and killed him. In this way he got his father's sword, and also the dog Bran, both of which the fisher had. And, further, by bruising his thumb in his mouth, the past and the present were always revealed to him. He then went in secret to his grand- father's house—the smith's house. Thereafter he appeared in the king's court ; the king gave wrong judgment, and if one of royal

blood did this, Temra the palace(?) fell ; and if one of royal blood gave the right judgment, it rose again. Temra fell ; but on Fionn giving the judgment rightly, Temra was restored again. He was at once recognised, and again pursued. The king then hunted every place in Erin for him, and at last found him as steward with the king of Colla. Colla and Fionn rose together against Cairbre, and slew him, and so Fionn recovered his patrimony and kingdom.

Besides Fionn's powers in knowing present and past events, he was also a great medicine man. He possessed the magic cup, a drink from which could heal any wound, unless from a poisoned weapon. The Dord Fionn was again a kind of wail or music raised when Fionn was in distress. His men, whenever they heard it, came to his help.

The leading heroes among the Feinè were :—

Fionn himself.

Gaul Mac Morna, leader of the Clann Morna. He served under Fionn, but as Goll had killed Fionn's father, they had no great love for each other. Yet Fionn's praise of Goll is one of the best of the ballads ; more especially as showing us what characteristics pleased best the Feiné, or rather the Gaelic people.

Ossian, son of Fionn, the renowned hero-poet.

Oscar, his son, the bravest of the Feiné, youthful, handsome, and kind-hearted.

Diarmad O'Duinn, the handsomest of the Feinè, the darling of the women, "the Adonis of Fenian mythology, whose slaughter by a wild boar is one of the most widely scattered myths of the Ossianic Cycle." He had a beauty spot—"ball-seirc "—which if any woman saw, she fell in love with him at once.

Caoilte MacRonan, Finn's nephew ; he was the swiftest of the Feinè. They had always to keep a *speireach* (?) on his foot, for otherwise he would go too fast for the rest.

Fergus Finn-vel, son of Fionn, a poet, warrior, and adviser.

Conan Maol, the Thersites or fool of the Feinè. He is the best narked character of the whole. He was large-bodied, gluttonous, and most cowardly. Everybody has a fling at Conan, and he at them.

The story of the Feinè may be considered under the following heads :—

(1) Foreign Messengers.

(2) Distressed people, especially women.

(3) Foreign combatants and invaders.
(4) Enchantments—by far the largest class.
(5) Fights with beasts.
(6) Battles and internal strifes.
(7) Ossian after the Feiné.

Messengers from Lochlinn play an important part in the bal-
lads.   They are called "athachs"; there is one eye in the middle
of their forehead, and one hand which comes from the breast,
and they have one foot.   It may be noted that the god Odin himself
appears in the Norse tales in an almost equally monstrous form.
The "athach," on one occasion, invited Fionn and his men to
Lochlinn ; the king's daughter was much in love with Fionn.
Before they set sail, they provided themselves with daggers, be-
sides their other arms.   They went ; their arms were piled in an
outhouse, but their daggers they secretly kept.   At the feast, they
were so arranged that one of Fionn's men was between two Loch-
linners.   Lochlinn's king began asking the heroes uncomfortable ques-
tions—who slew this son and that son of his.   Each hero answered
as the case was.   Finally, there was a rush to arms, but the
Feinè with the secret daggers slew their men.   The Feinè escaped
safely home, taking " nighean Lochlinn " with them.   This story
is the foundation of the episode of Agandecca in Macpherson's
Fingal, Book III.

The Muileartach is a sort of female counterpart to the
"athach."   She is Manus' foster-mother, and she came to fight the
Feinè ; and they had a tough job conquering her.   She seems to
be a personification of the Atlantic sea.

An "athach" appears also another day:—

" Chunncas tighinn o'n mhagh
   An t-oglach mor is e air aon chois,
   Le chochal dubh ciar dubh craicionn,
   Le cheann-bheirt lachduinn is i ruadh-mheirg."

They asked his name.   He told them he was Lun Mac Liobhain,
smith to the king of Lochlinn, and he put them under *geasa* to
follow him to his smithy.

" Ciod am ball am beil do Cheardach ?
   Na'm fearrda sinne g'a faicsinn ?"
" Faiceadh sibhse sin ma dh' fhaodas,
   Ach ma dh' fhaodas mise, chan fhaic sibh."

They set after him, and Daorghlas kept pace with him, and when,
on reaching the smithy, one of the smiths asked, in reference to

Daorghlas, who this *fear caol* was, Fionn answered that his name was *now Caoilte*. Here they got victorious arms, but they had to be tempered in human blood. Fionn, by a stratagem, got the smith's mother to take the place that fell to him by lot, and she was unwittingly killed. And Fionn's own sword was tempered in the smith's own blood.

> " B'e Mac an Luin lann Mhic Cumhail,
> Gum be Drithleannach lann Oscar,
> 'S b'i Chruaidh Chosgarrach lann Chaoilte,
> Gum b'i an Liomharrach lann Dhiarmad,
> Agam fein bha Gearr-nan-colann."

Every hero's sword had a name, as we see from this.

Distressed people came to the Feinè for protection. In Macpherson, nearly every other poem presents such, but in the ballads, there is only one good Macphersonic case. This is found in " Duan na h-Inghinn," or Essroy of the Dean of Lismore. The daughter of the King of Under-waves Land flies from the love of the son of the King of the Land of Light (Sorcha). She comes in a gold " curach" to Fionn. Her lover follows on his steed riding on the waves. He fights the heroes and falls. Some ballads represent him as killing the Nighean, others that she was with Fionn in the Feinè a year. This is nearly exactly the same as Macpherson's Maid of Craca and Faine-soluis. It is the only poem of his that agrees with the ballads in any satisfactory respect. But his language differs widely, though the plot is the same.

Foreign invaders are numerous. Sometimes they are single-handed, as in the case of Dearg, and his son Conn after him. Other times there is a regular invasion. The stories of single invaders are all of a type ; he comes, challenges the champions and lays them low in ones, twos, tens, and hundreds. Then Goll or Oscar goes, and after a stiff fight annihilates him. Their wounds are healed by Fionn. The Kings of Lochlinn are the chief invaders. Manus we have already considered. Earragon, another Lochlinn king, got his wife stolen by Alde, one of Fionn's men, and came to Scotland to fight them over it. The ballad is called " Teanntachd Mhor Na Feinè," and forms the groundwork of Macpherson's Battle of Lora, or as he says himself, calling it Irish of course—" It appears to have been founded on the same story with the ' Battle of Lora,' one of the poems of the genuine Ossian" ! A most serious invasion of Ireland was made by Dare Donn or Darius, King of the World, helped by all

the rest of the world. The scene was Ventry Harbour. The battle went on for a year and a day. In some versions, it is a Kilkenny cat business, where everybody is killed and some others besides ; for Fionn and his Feinè are represented all as falling, though they were helped even by the Tuatha-Dè. Other forms of it represent the heroes as finally victorious. The ballad in the Dean of Lismore's book is the only Scotch representative of this tale.

Enchantments form the largest class of these poems and tales. There are various "Chases," where the Feinè, singly or altogether, get lost and enchanted. Again, they may be enchanted in a house, as in "Tigh Bhlair Bhuidhe" and the "Rowan-tree Booth." Then some of them may be tricked away, as in the story of the "Slothful Fellow"—An Gille Deacair. Here they land in Tir-fo-Thuinn, and the Happy Land. These stories display the highest degree of imaginative power : they are humourous, pathetic, and at times tragic.

Another class of legends is that relating to the killing of dragons and like monsters. There is scarcely a lake in Ireland but there is some legend there about a dragon, or *biast*, which Fionn, or one of his heroes, or one of the Saints, destroyed. Fionn had some tough fights with these terrible animals, and his grandson, Oscar, was likewise often engaged in the same work. On one occasion, as an old Lewisman used to tell, Oscar was fighting with a huge *biast* that came open-mouthed towards him. He jumped down its throat at once, and cut his way out, and thus killed the brute. We have read of Odin being thus swallowed by the wolf, but have never heard of his appearing afterwards.

Internal dissension is seen in the armed neutrality maintained between Fionn and Goll. They at times have open strife. But the most serious defection is that of Diarmad, who ran away with Fionn's wife. Of course he refused her at first, but she laid him under *geasa* to take her. This he did. The pursuit began soon after, and they went round Erin. Many feats were performed, some of which were of a magic and supernatural nature. They were caught at last, but Fionn was forced to spare them, because Oscar would not allow him to wreak vengeance at the time. Fionn, however, revenged himself at the hunt of the magic boar. Diarmad killed the boar, escaping unscathed ; Fionn was disappointed at this, so he asked Diarmad to measure the boar ; he did. Fionn then asked him to measure it *against* the bristles. His foot, which was the only vulnerable part of his body, was stabbed in

the process by the bristles, and as the beast was a magic and poisonous animal—a Torc Nimhe—he was fatally wounded. Nor would Fionn cure him though he could. So Diarmad died.

A sad event happened just before the close of the Feinè's career. The men went off to hunt, leaving Garaidh at home with the women. The prose tales say that he stayed purposely to find out what the ladies took to eat and drink that always left them so rosy and youthful. In watching for this, he fell asleep, and they pinned his long hair to the bench. Then they raised a battle shout. He got up in furious haste, but, if he did, he left his scalp behind him. Mad with rage, he rushed out, went to the woods and brought home plenty fuel. He locked the women in, and then set fire to the house. The flames were seen by those that were hunting, and they rushed home. If the *speireach* were off Caoilte, he might have been in time to save the house. They jumped Kyle-rhea on their spears, but one of them, Mac-Reatha, fell into the Kyle, and hence the name. Wives and children were lost, and the race of great men left alone in the world. Fionn, by bruising his thumb in his mouth, knew it was Garaidh that did the deed. They found him hid in a cave, but he would not come out until he was allowed to choose the manner of his own death. They allowed him. He asked to be beheaded by Oscar on Fionn's knee. Now Oscar never could stop his sword from going through anything he drew the sword upon, and they had to bury Fionn's knee under seven feet of earth, and even then it was wounded. Fionn then journeyed to Rome to get it healed.

When Fionn was away, King Cairbre thought he might as well get rid of the Feinè. He invited Oscar to a feast. There he wished to exchange spear-heads with him, which was considered an insult in those days :

"Ach malairt cinn gun mhalairt crainn,
Bu eucorach sud iarraidh oirnn."

They quarrelled ; their troops were got ready and a battle engaged in. Both leaders fell by each other's hands. Ossian and Fionn just arrived frem Rome to receive Oscar's dying words. The battle of Gabhra ended the reign of the Feinè.

Fionn himself was killed by a treacherous person who invited him to jump on to an island, in the way he did. Fionn did the jump. Then the man jumped the same backways, and challenged Fionn to do so. Fionn tried it, but fell up to his head in the water. The man, finding him thus immersed, and with his back to him, cut off his head.

Ossian had, however, before this, run away with the fairy Niam to Tir-nan-og, the Land of the Ever-young. Here he remained two hundred years. He returned, a great giant, still youthful, on a white steed, from which he was cautioned not to dismount, if he wished to return again to Tir-nan-og. He found everything changed; instead of the old temples of the gods, now there were Christian churches. And the Feinè were only a memory. He saw some puny men raising a heavy block of stone. They could not manage it; so he put his hand to it and lifted it up on its side; but in so doing he slipped off his horse, and fell to earth a withered and blind old man. The steed at once rushed off. Ossian was then brought to St Patrick, with whom he lived for the rest of his life, ever and anon recounting the tales of the Feinè to Patrick, the son of Calphurn, and disputing with him as to whether the Feinè were in heaven or not.

He tried once by magic means to recover his strength and sight. The Gille Ruadh and himself went out to hunt, and he brought down three large deer and carried them home. The old man had a belt round his stomach with three skewers in it, so as that he should not need so much food. The deer were set a-cooking in a large cauldron, and the Gille Ruadh was watching it, with strong injunctions not to taste anything of the deer. But some of the broth spurted out on his hand and he put it to his mouth. Ossian ate the deer one after the other, letting out a skewer each time; but his youth did not return, for the spell had been broken by the Gille in letting the broth near his mouth.

Are the actors in these cycles—those of Cuchulinn and Fionn —historical personages? Is it history degenerated into myth, or myth rationalised into history? The answer of the native historian is always the same; these legends and tales contain real history. And so he proceeds to euhemerise and rationalise the mythic incidents—a process which has been going on for the last thousand years; mediæval monk and "ollamh," the seventeenth century historians, the nineteenth century antiquarian and philologist—all believe in the historical character and essential truth of these myths. The late Eugene O'Curry considered the existence of Fionn as a historical personage, as assured as that of Julius Cæsar. Professor Windisch even is led astray by the *vraisemblance* of these stories, and he looks on the mythic incidents of the Fionn Cycle as borrowed from the previous Cuchulinn Cycle, and the myths of the latter, especialy the birth incidents, he thinks drew upon Christian legend. As a consequence, the myths and legends are refined away, when presented as history, to such an extent that

their mythic character does not immediately appear. But luckily alongside of the literary presentment of them and before it, there runs the continuous stream of popular tradition, which keeps the mythic features, if not in their pristine purity, yet in such a state of preservation that they can be compared with the similar myths of kindred nations, and thus to some extent rehabilitated. This comparison of the Gaelic mythic cycles with those of other Indo-European nations shows in a startling degree how little of the Fionn Cycle, for instance, can be historical fact.

The incidents in the lives of the mythic and fairy heroes of the Aryan nations have been analysed and reduced to a tabulated formula. Von Hahn examined 14 Aryan stories—7 Greek, 1 Roman, 2 Teutonic, 2 Persian, and 2 Hindoo--and from these constructed a formula, called the "Expulsion and Return" formula, under 16 heads. And Mr Alfred Nutt examined the Celtic tales and brought them under the range of Von Hahn's headings, adding however, at heading 9, two more of his own. Mr Nutt's table is as follows:—

    I.   Hero, born out of wedlock, or posthumously or supernaturally.

    II.   Mother, princess residing in her own country. [Cf. *beena* marriage.]

    III.   Father, god or hero from afar.

    IV.   Tokens and warnings of hero's future greatness.

    V.   He is in consequence driven forth from home.

    VI.   Is suckled by wild beasts.

    VII.   Is brought up by a childless (shepherd) couple, or by a widow.

    VIII.   Is of passionate and violent disposition.

    IX.   Seeks service in foreign lands.

    IX.A He attacks and slays monsters.

    IX.B He acquires supernatural knowledge through eating a magic fish.

    X.   He returns to his own country, retreats, and again returns.

    XI.   Overcomes his enemies, frees his mother, and seats himself on the throne.

    XII.   He founds cities.

    XIII.   The manner of his death is extraordinary.

    XIV.   He is accused of incest ; he dies young.

    XV.   He injures an inferior, who takes revenge upon him or upon his children.

    XVI.   He slays his younger brother.

We give the incidents of the Fionn Cycle in this tabulated form, placing side by side the Fionn of history and the Fionn of popular fancy :

History.	Tradition.
I. In marriage (?), posthumously.	Out of marriage, posthumously, and one of twins.
II. Muirne, daughter of Chief Druid	Muirne (?), daughter of a smith. Lives with her father.
III. Cumal, leader of Militia.	King Cumhal : is passing house.
IV. Tadg, Druid, knows he will be ejected by hero.	Greatness foretold by a prophet, and known to be rightful heir to throne.
V. Driven to an aunt's house.	Into the wilderness.
VI.	Nourished by fat and marrow in a hole made in a tree.
VII. By his mother or aunt (?)	By his nurse, Luas Lurgann.
VIII.	Drowns the schoolboys or overcomes them at shinty, or both. Causes his nurse's death.
IX.	Serves as house steward. [Scholar to Fionn, the Druid.]
IXA.	Slays the Boar Beo ; kills lake monsters (biasta).
IXB.	Eats of the magic Salmon.
X.	Wanders backwards and forwards over Erin.
XI. Forces Tadg to abandon Almu. Gets headship of Feinè	Kills father's murderer. Overcomes Cairbre and gets throne.
XII.	Builds forts, dunes, &c.; founds a great kingdom.
XIII. Slain by a fisherman for sake of fame.	Dies, mysteriously slain in jumping lake.
XIV.	
XV.	
XVI.	

A candid examination of these tabulated results must convince one that the historic account is merely the myth in a respectable and rationalised form. The historic account of Fionn and his men is poor and shadowy. In fact, outside the " birth " incidents of Fionn himself, there are only three historical facts, such as they are : (1) The Feiné were an Irish militia (!) in the third century ; (2) they were overthrown in the battle of Gabhra, where also King Cairbre, a real personage without a doubt, fell in 284 ; (3) Fionn himself married Cormac's daughter, and Cailte killed Cairbre's successor, Fothaidh Airgtheach, in 285. Evidently some difficulty was found in fitting the heroes of the mythic tales into history, a difficulty which also exists in Arthur's case. He, like Fionn, is not a king in history—there is no place for him—

but he is a " dux belli " or " militia " leader. Yet the popular imagination is distinctly in favour of the idea that these heroes were also kings.

The further question as to the origin and meaning of these mythic and heroic tales is as can be seen, one of Aryan width : the Celtic tales are explained when we explain those of the other Indo-European nations. Until scientists agree as to the meaning of these heroic myths, we may satisfy ourselves with adding our stone to the cairn—adding, that is to say, Cuchulinn and Fionn to the other national heroes of Aryan mythology. Yet this we may say : Fionn son of Cumal (Camulus, the Celtic war-god ?) is probably the incarnation of the chief deity of the Gaels—the Jupiter spoken of by Cæsar and the Dagda of Irish myth. His qualities are king-like and majestic, not sun-like, as those of Cuchulinn. He is surrounded by a band of heroes that make a terrestrial Olympus, composed of counterparts to the chief deities. There is the fiery Oscar (ud-scar, utter-cutter ?) a sort of war-god ; Ossian, the poet and warrior, corresponding to Hercules Ogmius ; Diarmad, of the shining face, a reflection of the sun god ; Caelte, the wind-swift runner ; and so on.

The next question is as to the transmission and formation of these mythic tales. Oral tradition is evidently continuous, and is thus unlike literature and history. They are fixed with the times ; but popular tales and traditions are like a stream moving along, and, if we fancy the banks are the centuries and years, with their tale of facts and incidents, then naturally enough the stream will carry with it remembrances of its previous, more especially of its immediately previous, history. Hence it is that though these tales are old as the source of time, yet they are new and fresh because they get tinged with the life they have just come through. Hence we may meet with the old heroes fighting against the Norsemen, though the Norsemen appear late in the history of the people.

The Irish literature takes us back over a thousand years at least, and it shows us very clearly how a heroic literature does arise. The earliest Irish literature is of this nature. The narra- tive is in prose, but the speeches and sayings of the chief charac- ters are put in verse. That is the general outline of the literary method. Of course all the speeches are not in verse ; descriptive speeches are often not. Narrative, too, may appear in verse, especially as a summary of a foregoing prose recital. It is a mis- take to think that the oldest literature was in verse. Narrative and verse always go together in the oldest forms. But as time goes on and contact with other literatures exists, the narrative too

is changed to verse. Hence our ballads are in their narrative part, as a rule, but rhymed prose, done in late times, three or four hundred years ago, more or less—probably more. These tales and verses have no authors; they are all anonymous. Poets and singers were numerous as a guild in Ireland and Scotland, and were highly honoured; they were the abstracts and chronicles of the time—newspapers, periodicals, and especially novels, all in one. But they were a guild where the work of the individual was not individually claimed. We hear of great bards, but we never hear of their works, unless, indeed, they are introduced as saying or singing something after a narrative or within a prose tale. This literary style remained till very late, and it produced among other things those remarkable colloquies between Ossian and Patrick so well known in later Irish and in Gaelic literature. Patrick asks questions and Ossian answers, going on to tell a tale in verse. But it was not imagined for a moment that Ossian composed the poem; he only *said* those verses--the poet put them in his mouth, nor did Patrick compose his share of the dialogue. The anonymous poet alone is responsible for his puppets. The Dean of Lismore is the first that attributes the authorship of the poetry to those who merely say the poetry. Thus he introduces as authors of the poems Fergus, Caoilte, Ossian, and others. In this way Conall Cernach is made responsible for " Laoidh nan Ceann " though Emer bears her share of the dialogue. The figure of Ossian relating his tales to Patrick took hold of the popular imagination, and Macpherson, in an unfortunate hour, jumped to the conclusion that here was a great poet of antiquity. Immediately the world resounded with the old hero's name, though he was no more a poet, nor less so, than any others of his heroic companions. It was merely because he happened, so the tales said, to survive till Christian times, that he was responsible for telling those tales. Curiously enough the Gaelic mind, in its earlier literature, always made responsible some such survivor from past times, for the history of those times. Thus, Finntan told the history anterior to and after the Deluge, for he lived on from before the Deluge till the sixth century. Fergus Mac Roich, Cuchulinn's friend, was raised from the dead to repeat the Tain Bo Chualgne in the sixth century. And Ossian came back from Tir-nan-Og to tell the Fenian *epos* to Patrick.

The construction of the verse in these ballads must be noted. The true ballad is made up of verses of four lines : four is always the number of lines in the verse of the heroic poetry. The second

and fourth lines end in a rhyme word, and there are four feet in each line. That is the old heroic measure. At times consecutive lines rhyme, and in lyrical passages other measures come in, as, for instance, in Fionn's " Praise of Goll." The feet are now-a-days measured by four accented syllables, but it was quite different in old Goidelic poetry. The rules there were these:--Every line must consist of a certain number of syllables. As a rule the last word was a rhyme-word corresponding to one in the next or in the third line. These rhyme-words bound the lines into either couplets or quatrains. Every line had a pause or cesura in it, and the words before this cesura might rhyme with each other. Accent or stress was disregarded, and this accounts for some of the irregularities in our old ballads in regard to rhyme and metre. Thus, some make the last or unaccented syllable of a dissyllable rhyme with an accented monosyllable. On the whole, the ballads have recti- fied themselves to suit the modern style of placing the accent or stress on the rhymed syllables, and of having a certain number (4) of accents in the line.

A word as to Macpherson's heroic Gaelic poetry. He has at times the old heroic quatrain, but as often as not his lines are mere measured prose. The lines are on an average from seven to eight syllables in length. Sometimes rhyme binds them together, some- times not. Evidently three things swayed his mind in adopting this measure or rather no-measure. It was easy, this measured prose ; and his English is also measured prose that can be put in lines of like length with the Gaelic. Secondly, he had a notion, from the researches of Dr Lowth on Hebrew poetry, that primitive poetry was measured prose. Hebrew poetry consists of periods, divided into two or more corresponding clauses of the same structure and of nearly the same length ; the second clause contains generally a repetition, contrast, or explanation of the sentiment expressed by the first. The result of these responses or parallelisms is a sententious harmony or measured prose, which also appears even in the English Bible. Macpherson was a divinity student when he began his Ossianic work, and not merely does the form of the English translation and Gaelic original show his study of Hebrew poetry, but his poems show distinct imitations—even plagiarisms—from the Bible. Notably is this the case in the poem Comala. Macpherson, thirdly, had an idea that rhyme was a modern invention, probably non-existent in Ossianic times. Un- fortunately he did not know that rhyme is a Celtic invention, and possibly much older than the period of Ossian and his compeers, if they lived in the 3rd century. Had he known this, we might

now possess heroic Gaelic poetry of the proper type in quatrains and with rhymes; but, instead of this, Macpherson's Gaelic " original" is merely poetic prose—a halt between the Hebrew Psalms and Pope's rhymes. It is an irritating compromise, with good quatrains stuck mid wastes of prose to remind us of " what might have been," and its mere structure is enough to disprove both its antiquity and authenticity.

The consideration of the heroic literature of the Gael cannot be closed without a reference to Macpherson's " Ossian." A mere summary of his position in regard to the heroic cycles is all that need be given. Macpherson always aimed at the antique, but everywhere ended in sham-antique, for, last century, the ideas prevalent in regard to the primitive stages of society were highly Utopian, poetical, and vague—totally unlike the reality which this century has proved such states of society to be. The ultra-naturalism of his time led Macpherson to confine his prisoners in caves, to make his heroes drink from shells, and to cause them to use the bosses of their shields for drums and war-signalling—a piece of gross archæological nonsense. The whole life of the heroes is open air, with vague reference to halls. Now what did they eat or drink, or how were they dressed or housed? We know, in the real tales, this often in too minute a fashion; but in Macpherson everything is vague and shadowy. And when he does condescend on such details, he falls into gross errors. He arms his heroes in mail and helmet; now, the real old tales speak of neither, and it is undoubtedly the fact that defensive armour was not used by the Gaelic Insular Celts. Bows and arrows fill a prominent place in his plots; yet bows and arrows were not used by the ancient Gael, nor, indeed, by the ancient Celt. Again, his mythology is unspeakably wrong; ghosts appear everywhere, in daylight or night-time; they are a nuisance in fact. Yet ghosts have no place at all in the real ballads and tales. True, Cuchulinn's ghost is raised by Patrick, and Fergus MacRoich's by some saints later on; but those ghosts are as substantial as when alive, and as gorgeous and glorious. Macpherson's heaven is a mixture of classical reminiscences, with some Norse mythology, and a vague, windy place in cloudland is faintly pictured. And his references to religous rites show that he believed Toland's theories as to the Druids and their altars and circles. Then, the machinery of his poetry is all modern: fogs and mists, locks flowing on the wind, green meteors, clouds, and mountains, storms and ghosts, those eternal ghosts!—maids in armour—always love-sick— and always dying on their lovers'

bodies. And there are further his addresses to natural objects, such as the sun and moon; and his sympathy with nature, and description of lone mountains and moors, have no counterpart in the real ballads. Descriptions we do have in the ballads, minute and painstaking, but they are of persons, dress, houses, arms, or of human interests of some kind. Then his similes and metaphors are done to excess; both are rare, indeed full-blown similes are absent, in the grave directness of the original ballads. Some of his similes sin against the laws of their use, as comparing things to things unknown or imagined, as actions of men illustrated by actions of ghosts riding on winds. Then, thinking that he was at liberty to play any tricks with the history which these myths pretend to hold, and thinking, too, that he had an open field for any vagaries in regard to pre-Christian Irish and Scotch history, he has manufactured history on every hand. Bringing the Scandinavians upon Ireland in the third century is but a small part of his sins. The whole of "Temora," save the death of Oscar, is manufactured in history and plot. "Fingal" is founded distantly on the ballad of Manus, but its history of Ireland is again manufactured, and the terrible blunder of bringing Cuchulinn and Fionn together, though always separate in the tales by years and customs, is enough itself to prove want of authenticity. Most of the poems are his own invention pure and simple, while those whose kernel of plot he imitated, are changed in their epic dress so far as to be scarcely recognisable. In fact, there are scarcely a dozen places where the old ballads can at all be compared to his work. These are the opening of "Fingal" (slightly), Cuchulinn's Chariot, Episodes of Ferda, Agandecca (slightly), and Faine-soluis, Ossian's Courtship, Fight of Fingal and Swaran (Manus), Death of Oscar in Temora, plots of Battle of Lora, Darthula, and Carhon (founded on the Cuchulinn and Conloch story), and these are all that can be correlated in the present editions. There is not a line of the Gaelic given the same as the Gaelic of the ballads. Indeed, Macpherson rejected the ballads as "Irish," and Dr Clerk says that they cannot be of the same authorship as Macpherson's Ossian. And he is right. Yet these ballads were the only poetry known among the people as Ossian's, and it is to them that the evidence taken by the Highland Society always refers as basis for the parts the people thought they recognised of Macpherson's Ossian. Gallie and Ferguson actually quoted them in support of the authenticity, and others named or described them specially. Yet Macpherson and Clerk reject them as non-Ossianic. Macpherson's Gaelic was written after the English, often long after,

for, in one place, he gives Gaelic in his 1763 edition in a note
(Temora, VIII. 383-5) quite different from what he gave when he
came to write the poem consecutively. The Gaelic is very modern,
its idiom is tinctured strongly with English, while out of its
seventeen hundred words, fifty at least are borrowed, and some
forty more are doubtful. The conclusion we come to is simply
this:—Macpherson is as truly the author of "Ossian" as Milton
is of "Paradise Lost." Milton is to the Bible in even nearer
relation than Macpherson is to the Ossianic ballads. Milton
retained the essential outlines of Biblical narrative, but Macpher-
son did not scruple to change even that. Macpherson's Ossian is
therefore his own poetry; it is pseudo-antique of the type of
Virgil's Æneid, and, in excellence of poetry, far superior to the
work of the Roman, though in its recklessness of imagery and
wildness of imagination, Macpherson wants the classic chasteness
and repose that marks Virgil. He deserved the place he appro-
priated in Westminster Abbey; he knew it was his and not
Ossian's. This last act of his, therefore, eloquently proves that he
was in his own eyes the real author of the Ossian which he gave to
the world, and which he hesitatingly, though tacitly, claimed in
his 1773 preface.

THE STUDY OF CELTIC MYTHOLOGY.

Mythology deals with the more or less fabulous belief of a people in regard to the world around and above them. It, therefore, comprises the religion, philosophy, and history of a people dealing on *a priori* and non-scientific principles with the facts and laws of the universe, and with their own heritage of tradition and language. The explanations of natural facts and events by personal and spiritual action; the fabulous adventures and actions of the imaginary beings worshipped and believed in; the exploits of the ancient heroes of the people; the traditions of early migrations and wars; the travellers' tales of foreign and fabulous lands—these are the materials of Mythology. The religious and god-element distinguishes pure Mythology from Folk-lore, where such is absent. Folk-lore is broken-down Mythology, the detritus, so to speak, of the old myths which dealt with the gods and heroes of the race. It is best exemplified in the "popular" stories and fairy tales of the nursery, and in the superstitions and quaint customs that still survive from a time when such stood for science and religion.

Some preliminary discussion on the nature, origin, and spread of myth must be entered on before attacking the Celtic Mythology. And, first, as to the character of myth: this will be best understood from an example.

There was once a farmer, and he had three daughters. They were washing clothes at a river. A hoodie crow came round, and he said to the eldest, "Will you marry me, farmer's daughter?" "No, indeed, you ugly brute," said she. On the morrow he came to the second one, repeated his question, and met with the same refusal. On the third day, the third daughter accepted him, saying, "I will wed thee, pretty creature." And on the morrow they were married. The hoodie said to her, "Whether wouldst thou rather that I be a hoodie by day and a man by night, or be a

hoodie by night and a man by day." "A man by day," said she, "and a hoodie at night." And so he was. He took her soon to his own house. At the birth of the first child, fairy music caused everyone to sleep, and the child was stolen. This happened at the birth of the second and of the third child. Thereafter he went with her and his sisters-in-law to another house he had. He said to them by the way, "Have you forgotten anything?" His wife said, "I forgot my coarse comb." The coach in which they were fell a withered faggot, and he flew away as a hoodie.

But she followed him. When he would be on a hill-top, she would follow to catch him, and when she gained the hill-top, he would be in the hollow on the other side. Tired at night, she had no place to rest in ; but she saw a little house of light far from her, and though far from her she was not long in reaching it. There, standing as she was deserted, at the door, she saw a laddie towards whom she yearned exceedingly. The housewife told her to come in, that she knew her cheer and travel. Next day she pursued her journey as before ; next night she rested at a second and similar house with laddie and housewife. On the third day and night her experiences were the same ; but at the third house she was told not to sleep, but to be clever and catch the hoodie when he would visit her during the night. But she slept ; he came and dropped a ring on her right hand ; and, waking, she tried to catch him, but only got a feather of his wing as he flew away. The housewife told her she would have to go over the hill of poison to catch him, and over this she could not go without horse shoes on her hands and feet. She donned man's clothes, learned smithying, made herself shoes, and got over the hill. On her arrival she found her husband was that day to be married to the daughter of a great man in town. She was employed to cook the wedding meal. She watched the bridegroom and let fall the ring and feather in the broth intended for him. With the first spoon he took up the ring, with the next the feather. The cook of the meal, he declared, was his married wife. The spells went off him and he recognised her. They returned home, taking their three sons at the three houses of his sisters, for so the mysterious housewives were, with them, and they lived happy and free from spells ever after.

The above is a good specimen of the present day folk-tale, and it is, as already said, the descendant of an old myth. In it we are in a fairy world ; birds speak and act rationally ; marriage with the bird causes removal, partially at least, of the spells ; supernatural sleep and kidnapping ; disobedience, or stupidity of

the wife causes her to lose the man-bird ; pursuit by the wife through fairy realms of spells and charms, with superhuman toils; forgetfulness of the husband, and stratagem to recall his memory; and, finally, recovery of human form, of children, and of happiness. This looks all a wild maze of childish nonsense, incapable of scientific consideration. But this is a superficial view ; there must be a reason for such a tale ; it is not a mere piece of imagination. Taken by itself, we should be helpless before such a story, but when we adopt the comparative method, by which myths of a nation are classed and compared with those of others, we can reduce the hopeless and incongruous mass of folk-tales to an order and system that will go far to lend a key to the solution of their origin. The above tale has been found in its main outlines in almost all countries of Europe, and no small portion of Asia. There is even another Highland popular tale cast in the same mould, given in Mr Campbell's book, as "The Daughter of the Skies ;" the hoodie is replaced by a "doggie," and the wife's disobedience is better brought out. The tale also appears in the Norse ; in the story "East of the Sun and West of the Moon," the hero appears as a white bear, who takes the girl to a palace gleaming with silver and gold. At night he is a beautiful young man, but she must not see him by any light. Instigated, however, by her mother she steals a glance of him by lamplight, and he awakens, and vanishes. Then follow her trials, pursuit, and recovery of him. Parallel to this is the English tale of "Beauty and the Beast," and still more striking is the similarity presented by the old Greek myth of Psyche and Cupid. Psyche, the youngest of the three royal daughters, incurred the jealous wrath of Venus, who sent Cupid to inspire her with love for some mean and wretched person. But he fell in love with her himself instead, conveyed her to a secret cave, and thence to his lordly castle, where he visited her only by night, with strict injunctions that she must not see him by any light. Her jealous sisters persuaded her that she was married to a monster, and to test this she examined him by lamplight, and found that it was the love-god himself she was married to. In her excitement she let a drop of the hot oil fall on his shoulder, and he awakened, upbraided her, and vanished. She suffered woes untold, even undertaking a journey to Hades, ere she was re-united to him. Again, in India, in the Veda, the old religious books of the Hindus, the same myth appears : the story of Urvasi and Pururavas repeats the main features of the Gaelic, Norse, and Greek tales of Beauty and the Beast. This wide distribution of the same myth must still

further stimulate our inquiry as to the origin of myth ; while, at the same time, it must tend to answer the question by enlarging our field of vision. Other myths are found equally, and some far more widely, distributed among the nations of Europe and Asia. In comparative folk-tales, science has done two things ; it has classified them, and accounted for them as to origin and distribution. Von Hahn, about twenty years ago, published a classification of popular tales, reducing them to forty roots alto- gether. He has divisions, subdivisions, and classes. The divisions are three in number :—(A) Tales dealing with Family Life ; (B) Miscellaneous Tales ; and (C) Tales of contrast between inner and outer world, as cunning against giant strength. The family group (A) falls into three subdivisions :—I. Husband and wife, as affected by (a) desertion on the part of (1) supernatural husband, as in the stories told above, or of (2) supernatural wife, or (3) of a husband recovered by the patience of the wife ; (b) expulsion of calumniated wife ; and (c) sale or purchase of the loved one or of access to her. Subdivision II. :—Parent and child ; (a) Children longed for, which appear in monstrous shape, or victims of a vow, or with some wonder gift attached to them ; (b) Chil- dren are exposed to death by unmarried mother, or by married parents—Paris myth, or mother and babe exposed together— Perseus myth, or daughter exposed to a monster—Andromeda myth ; and (c) Step-children are persecuted by step-mother. Subdivision III. :—Brothers and sisters ; (a) Youngest brother is ill-treated by elder brothers ; (b) Youngest sister ill-treated by elder sisters—Cinderella myth ; (c) Assistance rendered by twins, sisters, and brothers-in-law ; and (d) Evil done by sisters. Under the miscellaneous division (B) comes : (1) Bride-winning by clever- ness ; (2) Abduction of heroine, as Proserpine, Medea, and Helen ; (3) Various subjects—Swan and seal maidens robbed of garments, Bluebeard, Snake-brought herbs restore life, A giant having no heart in his body, Tom Thumb, Grateful beasts, Disguised hero or heroine, like Ulysses, as a beggar, &c. The last division (C) com- prises the Polyphemus and Ulysses myth, and others where the hero tricks the demon ; and lastly, there are the visits to the lower world undertaken by heroes like Ulysses, Hercules, Orpheus, Cuchulainn, and Diarmat.

A myth, then, is a fabulous tale about some god, hero, event, or natural phenomenon. How did such fabulous tales arise ? They are exaggerated real events, say some ; Jupiter, the god, was King of Crete. They are allegories, say others ; they inculcate some moral or natural truth originally. Another class of thinkers

consider the god-myths of heathen countries as but the broken-down remembrance of the Jewish religion, originally imparted to man in the Garden of Eden. Of these theories the last is the worst ; it slanders the Greek race, for example, unmercifully, for how does it account for the wickedness and immorality ascribed to the Greek gods but by degrading the Greek race in morals and culture ? Nor do the other theories carry us far ; it is quite true some myths are allegories, but only very few myths can be so considered. Again, some myths have clustered round actual persons, and are at times but exaggerated real events. Charlemagne was a real personage, but in popular tales he figures as a mythical hero. Wallace, even, has not escaped without a touch of myth about him ; witness Blind Harry's and Hamilton's poem about him.

We must look for the explanation of myth in primitive man's mental state, and in his use of that wonderful art he has attained to, the art of speech. Language is, as it were, the physical side of men's early ideas, and by studying their language we get an insight into their beliefs, customs, and condition. In this way we discover that the origin of myth is just the same as the origin of science ; they are both man's attempt to interpret his surroundings. Primitive man explained everything that moved, animate or inanimate, as impelled by a force—a spirit or will force—akin to that which impelled himself. Even stationary nature—the everlasting hills and solid earth—was endowed with life and feeling. All the mental powers that man found controlling his own actions were unconsciously transferred to nature. A personal life was accordingly attributed to sun, moon, clouds, winds, and other natural agencies ; they were looked upon as performing their special functions by means of faculties of mind and of body—limbs, and heart, and head—analagous to those of man or beast. The varying phenomena of the sky, of the day, and of the year, were the product of the life that dwelt in each. The eclipse of the sun—a most dreaded event among uncivilised people—was supposed to be caused by a wild beast attempting to swallow the lord of day ; and men poured forth with timbrels and drums, as savages still do, to frighten the monster away. The clouds were the cows of the sun-god, producing as milk the rain of heaven. The thunder was the roar of a mighty beast ; the lightning a serpent darting at its prey. Modern savages and children are still in this mythopœic age.

Language was founded on these conceptions of nature, and it stereotyped the personal explanations of phenomena given, and handed them on to future and more practical ages. Language

itself worked by metaphor and analogy on comparatively a narrow basis of explanation; actions true of men alone were and are freely transferred to nature, in olden times because such was the method of explaining the facts, and in modern times because habit has made us familiar with the metaphors, and we do not think of their original reference. Mythology is, according to the pure linguistic theory of it, in a large measure based on the metaphors of speech. The phenomena of nature were explained by likening them to those of human actions, with a mental state, and when in the course of time a higher level of knowledge had been reached, and the original meaning of the traditional epithets had been forgotten, they came to be taken literally and interpreted as referring to beings of a supernatural world. The dawn had been likened to a rosy-fingered maiden, the sun to a charioteer, and so the myths of Eos the dawn, the ever-fleeing maiden, and of Phœbus Apollo, the heavenly charioteer, came into existence. Mythology, in this view, which is Max Müller's and Cox's view, is a disease of language, a misunderstanding of its metaphors, and a misconception of the analogical reasoning of our early forefathers. Mr Tylor, on the other hand, considers the metaphors to have been more than mere analogies in the modern sense; the anthromorphic explanations of the sun's course really supposed a spirit there, like a man, driving on the sun chariot. Both views are right; Mr Tylor's does for the earliest stage of language and interchange of ideas; the language theory of myth applies to a higher stage of culture. Therefore both spirit explanation and metaphoric analogies have had most influence in the formation of myth: allegories, conscious myths to account for natural facts, and local or national names, are important but secondary.

Gaelic, even in modern times, presents some very startling personifications of natural objects. The regular expression for "The sun is setting," is "Tha a' ghrian 'dol a laidhe"—"going to bed." Mr Campbell, in his translation of the West Highland Tales, follows the Gaelic even in some of its most personal metaphors. "Beul na h-oidhche," nightfall, is given literally as "the mouth of the night." Gaelic poetry, too, is more instinct with life and feeling than English poetry in dealing with natural objects. Ossian's address to the sun may be quoted to show what a mine of metaphor and consequent mythology exists in our poetic and elevated language:—

> An d' fhag thu gorm astar nan speur
> A mhic gun bheud, a's òr-bhuidh' ciabh?
> Tha dorsan na h-oidhche dhuit reidh,
> Agus pailiun do chlos san iar.

Thig na stuaidh mu'n cuairt gu mall,
A choimhead fir a's glaine gruaidh,
A' togail fo eagal an ceann
Ri d' fhaicinn cho aillidh 'n ad shuain.

These lines bring us back to the anthropomorphism of the Vedic hymns of India, to which, in their richness of personification and mythic power, they can be compared. Here are a few lines from the Rig-Veda of India, on the rising sun : —

" Behold the rays of Dawn, like heralds, lead on high
The Sun, that men may see the great all-knowing god.
The stars slink off like thieves, in company with Night,
Before the all-seeing eye, whose beams reveal his presence,
Gleaming like brilliant flames, to nation after nation.
Surya, with flaming locks, clear-sighted god of day,
Thy seven ruddy mares bear on thy rushing car."

In fact, our poets' language, even of modern times, is partly conscious, partly unconscious imitation of this earlier and personal but practical view of nature ; unconscious imitation, because the poet looks on nature through emotion and passion, which humanise and personify the relations and forces of nature, and he is, besides, the inheritor of a language which itself is a " mass of buried metaphor."

Why are the same or similar myths so widely distributed in space ? In India, in Ireland, and in the intermediate countries we find myths that cannot but have the same origin existing. In similar circumstances, say some, the primitive man's mind worked similarly ; this will account for those general myths and folk-lore that we find common to all the world. Jack, the Giant-killer, appears in every nation ; little man, by his cunning, overcomes the mighty giant powers of brute nature. But the deep and detailed similarities of the Indo-European myths and folk-lore cannot be so accounted for ; and, although many tales have been borrowed from the East, yet the borrowing fails to account for the deep-rooted national characteristics in the majority of myths. What harmonises best with the facts is the theory that the nations of Europe and Western Asia with India are nearly all of the same original stock, at least as far as mythology is concerned. But the science of language has already proved the languages of these people to have a common descent, and much progress is being made in proving a general heritage of customs and institutions ; the Brehon laws of Ireland are compared with the village institu-

tions of the Hindus, ancient and modern. Thus three lines of inquiry are brought to bear on the subject—first and chiefly, language, whose roots and forms represent a common heritage of ideas ; mythology, which points to a family possession of a common religion and philosophy ; and lastly, customs and institutions, which prove an original heritage of political, legal, and social ideas in common.

The race who spoke this ancestral tongue, common to the European nations, with those of Persia and India, is variously called Indo-European, Indo-Germanic, Indo-Celtic, and Aryan. The last is the most convenient name. The language is called the Aryan mother-tongue. This parent race did not begin to split up into its various descendant branches until over three thousand years before Christ, and it lived somewhere in Western Asia— possibly in Bactria. It was possessed of a fairly good civilisation ; all family relations were distinctly marked, and monogamy was the rule ; society and politics were founded on the family and patriarchal system ; comfortable houses—clearings, probably, and stations, existed ; the ordinary metals, though likely not iron, were known ; cattle was the chief wealth, but agriculture was not unknown ; they could count, at least, as far as one hundred ; they had divided the year into two main seasons—spring and winter, and reckoned subordinate periods by the moon—" the measurer."

In religion and mythology, the Aryans were equally ad- vanced ; they possessed a well-developed religous cosmos ; poly- theism was the form of religion outwardly, but at times one deity seems to have overshadowed the rest in the worshipper's mind. The gods represented the intangible and lofty powers of nature as presented by day, heaven, light, sun, moon, stars, and the atmospheric conditions of wind, rain, and thunder. To the same class belongs the dieties of the sea and the earth; and slightly inferior were the powers of the mighty rivers and mountains. Forests and trees, wells and streams, and such tangible objects as these also received worship. Spirits inhabited such, and directed their powers. The earlier spirit explanation of near and tangible objects had been extended to the great agencies of light, wind, and fire ; and these elements appear not merely to have been worshipped in their simple state, but also as spiritual powers apart from their elements. The character of the element, of course, decided the life-history and nature of the deity directing it. Myth, as a disease of language and bad memory, was not properly begun yet. The chief god was the "sky" or "light," father ; the root *div* (shining) appears in all the descendant

tongues, and generally as meaning "god," or at least naming the chief god like Ju-piter (*dju-*), and Greek Zeus. The Gaelic *dia* and *an-diu* are from this root. The sun was especially an object of worship. The thunder and rain god had a high position; while somewhat lower stood the storm god Mars, later a war-god, and the wind-god Hermes or Mercury. An ethnical idea under-lay the struggle of light against darkness; and sacrifice and prayer, temple and altar—probably only groves and stones, were known. A shadowy existence after death was believed in; the kingdom of Hades was the abode of the dead, and contained vari-ous degrees of happiness and pain, doubtless in separate localities.

The actions of the gods were spoken of and their praises sung in epithets derived from the element they ruled, and a full bio-graphy of each was known. This is the first stage of myth. The sun-god gathered around him the most suggestive life-history. Offspring of night, whom he slays, he loves the dawn maiden, rosy-fingered morn, who flies from his embrace, but, Cinderella-like, she leaves a silver streak of light behind her, whereby she may be followed and found. The sun has toils, too, in the pursuit; storm-clouds intercept his path, and the eclipse monster dogs his steps, and the spells put on him cause him to toil for men. But, at length, he overtakes in the evening his morning love, the dawn, and then descends to his rest beneath the wave. Here we see in germ the loves of Apollo and Daphne, Hercules and Dejanira, and still later the story of Cinderella and her glass slipper—a story which also appears in the Gaelic, under the title of the "King who Wanted to Marry His Own Daughter." But there was another side to the sun-myth; what is the nocturnal life of the god, and how does he leave the dawn behind him? The sun is under spell, and the dawn-maiden tries to relieve him, and she pursues him during the night. This side of the sun-myth we saw in the tale of the "Hoodie Crow," with which the character of myth was illustrated. The idea of higher powers taking animal shapes is quite common; some tribes worship animals, not as animals, but as embodiments of some "spirit" force which makes them its habitation. The hoodie is a sacred Celtic bird, and represents in Old Irish myths the Goddess of War. Another fruitful source of myth was the great year change of summer and winter. The earth was spell-bound during the winter by the frost king; the lovely summer goddess, Proserpine, was stolen away by the under-world god, and mother-earth got her restored only on condition that she should live half the year with Pluto in Hades, and half the year on earth with Ceres. Here is the germ of the myth of

the imprisoned maiden, whom the young hero (the sun-god) rescues from the monster.

Celtic mythology is, therefore, a descendant of the ancient Aryan mythology, and is full sister to the mythic and religious systems of Greece, Rome, and Scandinavia. The importance of this fact is much enhanced by two circumstances; first, Celtic and other enthusiasts have claimed for the language and myth of the Celt a close connection with Hebrew and Phenician, and many are the wild theories built on false analogies and untrustworthy history. Secondly, the Celtic mythology, speaking in the narrow sense of the term, has not come down to us but in the meagre references of classical writers. The Celtic god-system is lost; one short chapter in Cæsar is almost the only written reference to it. Worship, rites, temples, and statues are only incidentally alluded to, and in such a way as to convey little real information. In fact, the religious aspect of Celtic mythology is practically absent; only the heroic tales and the present folk-lore and folk-beliefs and practices remain to us, and fortunately these are at least as rich as any in Europe. Now, the knowledge that the Celtic god-system and religious practices must have been in their main features Aryan, and hence like those of Greece and Rome, goes a great way to undo the mischief which the ravages of time have caused to Celtic mythology, for it directs us as to what lines to pursue our inquiry upon.

Celtic mythology in its religious aspects has, therefore, to be reconstructed, and the question comes to be whence are the ma-terials for this reconstruction, and how they are to be used. The materials are threefold; we have the accounts, such as they are, of classical writers in regard to the Gaulish religion; we have, secondly, many inscriptions and votive tablets containing the names of deities both in France and in this country, and statues and figures, too, of the deities have been found in both countries; and, thirdly, we have the present folk-lore and folk-tales, and the heroic tales of the past, dating as far back as a thousand years very nearly, for that is the earliest Celtic account we have in their own language of anything Celtic. Subsidiary help is rendered by the history of the Christian Church; saints' names have taken the place of the older deities—indeed, many a deity must be on the Calen-dar of Saints, for we are certain of one or two, and notably St Bridget of Kildare, the Gaelic Vesta or Fire-goddess. Topography lends its aid; god-names are scattered all over the country, notably those of Angus, Manannan (Mannan), Banba, and Erenn; and at times river names are suggestive, such as the two or three

sacred rivers called by the name Dee— " goddess," which testifies to the river worship. These materials we must use, as Zeuss and Ebel made use of the Celtic language. They reconstructed the oldest forms from the oldest manuscripts, and with the help of inscriptions, both British and Gaulish, and more especially knowing that the Celtic was an Aryan tongue and inflected like the other Aryan languages, they have been able to show us what pre-historic Celtic and Gaelic inflection must have been. Without the knowledge of the other Aryan forms such a reconstruction, I am safe in saying, could never have taken place. In the same way must the Celtic mythology be attacked ; we have the detritus of the old mythology in the hero-tales and folk-lore, just as the detritus of the old language is yet extant and spoken, shorn of its inflections in a sad manner ; we have the classical references and the old inscriptions and figured monuments. These last, with the knowledge that the Celtic mythology is Aryan in character will enable us to give a fair picture of ancient Gaulish religion, and, with the help of it, we may attempt the restoration of the Gaelic pantheon from the heroic tales and mythical history to which Christian piety and time consigned it.

It is, therefore, of much importance to gain first as clear an idea as possible of the religion of ancient Gaul, and, in this matter, the French writers and antiquarians have done a vast amount. Later writers, such as M. Gaidoz, to whom I must express obligation for my description of the Gaulish religion, have been able to put the subject on a true scientific footing, and consequently the fallacies of the old school of historians and writers have been exposed and rejected. Cleared of such dross, the Gaulish pantheon was somewhat as follows. Our chief, almost only, authority in classical writings is Cæsar. The Gaulish nation, he says, is very much given to the practice of religious rites. People affected with serious disease or dangers, even sacrifice human beings, employing the Druids in the process. They think the deities cannot be appeased but by human life for human life. Criminals are the victims thought most pleasing to the gods, but recourse at times is had to the sacrifice of even innocent persons, if the supply of criminals fail. The god most worshipped is Mercury. There are very many statues of him, and they regard him as the inventor of arts, patron of journeys and ways, and president of money transactions and commerce. After him come Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva. About them they hold the same belief as other nations, that Apollo drives away diseases, Minerva teaches the useful arts of life, Jupiter holds the sway of

heaven, and Mars rules the department of war. To him they, as a rule, vow and consecrate whatever they take in war, and great heaps of booty may be seen in consecrated places, which no one dares touch from superstition and fear of the severity of punishment. The Gauls consider themselves sprung from Dis (god of the lower world)--a Druidic tenet, and hence they reckon their time by nights and not by days. Their funerals, considering their culture, are grand, and everything that in life was pleasing to the dead they burn along with them, animals even, and, before our time a little, slaves and dependents that they loved in life.

Thus, according to Cæsar, and, as we might expect, the Gaulish pantheon was another presentation of the Aryan polytheism we meet with in Greece and Rome. Unfortunately, Cæsar has not thought it worth while giving us the names of the Gaulish gods corresponding to the Roman deities he mentions, but, despite some difficulty, the native names of these gods can fairly well be made out from the inscriptions of Gallo-Roman times, where we find the Latin god given with the Gaulish name as an epithet attached to the Roman name. Mercury was the chief god and not Jupiter ; Mercury, too, is set down as the chief god of German worship, the Odin of Wiking times. So quickly and so completely did the Roman Mercury take the place of the Gaulish that the Gaulish name for him disappeared from inscriptions, but the importance and universality of his worship is proved by the numerous statues of him, some made of the precious metals, that have been found. His sanctuaries were apparently on high places, and he has left his Roman name in many French place names. A female deity appears with him alone called Rosmerta. Apollo presents himself with many Gaulish epithets, such as Borvo, Maponis, Cobledulitanus, Grannus, Livius, and Belenus. His name and votive inscriptions are connected with the hot springs in use by the Gallo-Romans, while Borvo is historically famous in the " Bourbon " dynasty and Grannus is to us very interesting because a similar inscription has been found in Scotland—" Apollini Granno "—the derivation of the word being the same as Gaelic " grian," sun. Both Borvo and Grannus are independently used for Apollo. Two goddesses appear along with him or Borvo, viz. :—Damona and Sirona, the latter being also alone at times. Mars appears with the epithets Segomo, Camulus, Toutates, Caturix, Albiorix, Cocosus, and others. Segomo and Cannulus may be independent at times without the name Mars. Nemetona appears along with him as female counterpart, a name which meets us on Irish ground as Nemon ; and Camulus, who also appears on British ground, especi-

ally in place names, is doubtless Cumhal, father of Finn.   Bel-
isama was probably the name of the Gaulish Minerva, and Taranis
that of the Gaulish Jupiter, a name which appears in Lucan, but
which on the inscription, presents itself as Taranucno and Tanaro.
The root is the same as Gaelic *torrunn*, Eng. *thunder*, and the
Norse equivalent god *Thor* or *Thunor*.   The rapidity and ease
with which the Roman gods took the place of, and appeared by the
side of the native Gaulish deities show conclusively the general
similarity, perhaps detailed similarity, of the Roman and Gaulish
Pantheon.   We meet, therefore, with striking collections of native
and foreign deities, such as on an altar discovered in 1711 at Paris,
where we see mingled together the god-names Volcanus, Jovis,
Esus, Tarvos Trigaranus, Castor, and Cernunus.   Hence we
meet with the Roman deities Hercules, Neptune, Diana, the
Lares, and a little later the oriental gods introduced among the
Romans, Mithra, Serapis, Isis, Cybele, the Sun and the Moon.

Other and more local deities found are—Epona, a name
formed from the Gaulish word *epos* horse, who often presents her-
self figured as sitting on a high-paced mare, was a horse or cavalry
goddess.   The Gauls were noted horsemen, and employed as such
in the Roman armies.   [C]athubodua, appearing only on one
inscription, is equated by Mr Hennessy with the Irish war
goddess Badb, "the Scald Crow."   Then there are the numerous
"mother" deities (*matres*, *matrae*, or *matronae*) which appear as
a rule with local epithets and place names, such as "Matrebo
Namausicabo" "to the mothers of Nimes," and "Matribus Tre-
veris" "to the mothers of Treves."   They appear to have been the
"good ladies," or guardians of the places, and especially of towns,
and are generally represented sitting with one or two children on
their knees, prototypes of the Virgin Mary and the Infant Jesus,
and of the "White Ladies" of Mediæval legend.

Forests and woods received adorations.   The Black Forest
had the goddess Abnoba; the forest of Arden was deified into
Arduinna.   The Vosges mountains were worshipped as Vosegus;
the gods of the plains had the generic title of "Campestres;" and the
rivers were especial objects of worship, as Deae Sequanae "to the
the goddess Seine."   The worship of fountains goes without saying,
for it is still among us in survival; Dea Clutonda and Dea
Acionna may be mentioned.

Outside inscriptions, we get mention in Lucan of three Gaulish
deities—Taranis, Esus, and Teutates, whom he appears to consider
the three chief gods.   Taranis, we saw, appears in the inscriptions,
but differently each time; Esus only once, and his name has been

derived from the various roots of "wishing" and "being," but probably the name appears in the title of Aes-Side given to the Tuatha-De-Danann, or Irish Gods—the "Side race." Teutates appears only as an epithet of Mars in Gaul and Britain. Lucian describes the Gaulish Hercules as an old man drawing a large multitude by cords attached to their ears and his tongue, and tells us that he was their god of Eloquence, and called Ogmios; whence "Ogam," the name of the old Irish alphabet. St. Augustine mentions the Düsii as a kind of Gaulish demons.

The Gauls, like all the Aryan races, and for that matter like most barbarian races, believed in a future existence of the individual in another world or part of this world. The Druids may have believed in transmigration of souls, but that the ordinary Gaulish belief was of the usual type of Greece and Rome, is attested incontrovertibly by two facts recorded by classical writers : they buried along with the dead what was dear and useful to them in this life, animals, slaves, and wives possibly, and they threw on the funeral pile letters addressed to the dead, and intended to be brought by the person just buried to them to read. Again, Valerius Maximus tells us that money was lent on the condition that the creditor was paid in the next world. British, Irish, and Gaelic myths place this Celtic Hades in the land of the setting sun, a happy island in the Western Ocean. Ossian sojourned there for three hundred years, along with Niam of "The Golden Hair," Princess of this Land of the Ever-Young; and the mediæval romance of Olger the Dane, which must be a troubadour and hence a Gaulish version of the same myth represents him as transported to the fairy kingdom of Morgan Le Fay, King Arthur's sister, where he lived two hundred years, and whence he returned to earth, like Ossian, to die at last a withered old man. The gorgeousness of this land is but the remembrance of the glories of the old Celtic Hades, a place in its joyousness and reality which must have been of a much more earthly type than the Greek and Roman abodes of the dead.

The feature of old Celtic religion which has attracted most attention, to the obscuration of its real character as an Aryan religion, is its priestly caste known as the Druids. Druidism, for that is the name of the so-called religious philosophy of the Druids, has been made accountable for all that is unexplained in Celtic archæological history by writers previous to the present generation, and it is only with difficulty and the diligent study of comparative religion that we have got rid of the Druidomanaic notions of the past. But little has been told us by the classical writers as

to the character and history of Druidism, and that little has been
so interesting that it quite fired the imagination of Celtic enthusi-
asts, and produced a system of Druidism for the Celts that in
religious experience and philosophic breadth could surpass any in
the ancient or the modern world. " Omne ignotum pro magnifico
est;" the unknown is sublime. But from what the classical
writers say, and from our knowledge of Celtic religion as it must
have been, we can with fair success put the Druids on their proper
historical footing. They were the Celtic priests, monopolising the
power of judges, soothsayers, educationists, medicine-men, poets,
and priests. Among a superstitious and impressionable people
like the Celts, their position was naturally a very powerful one,
comparable only to the Brahmans of India, to whom, amid much
dissimilarity, they have yet a wonderful resemblance, a fact which
must cause us to reject those theories which find in the Druids
the survival of a previous non-Aryan race and religious culture.
Cæsar again gives us the best and most reliable account of them.
All men of any consideration, he says, must belong to either the
class of nobles or of Druids. (Compare the Hindu castes.) The
Druids conducted public and private sacrifices and interpreted
omens, and they had the decision of all kinds of controversies, with
power of excommunication, in case of disobedience. A chief
Druid presided over them, elected by vote for life, and they met
once a year in a sacred place in the middle of Gaul. Druid-
ism was found in Britain, it is said, and transferred to Gaul,
and those who wished to perfect themselves in it proceeded to
Britain to do so. The Druids had immunity from war and taxes.
Hence young men flocked to them, and with them they learned off
great quantities of poetry, some being under training for twenty
years. They did'nt allow these things to be committed to writing,
whether for memory's sake or for secrecy, is uncertain, but in
secular matters they used Greek letters. Their chief doctrine was
the transmigration of the soul into another human being, but they
discussed astronomy, the size of the universe and the earth, the
laws of nature, and the power and majesty of the gods, wherein
they instructed the youth. Such is Cæsar's account. Strabo in-
forms us that there were three classes of men specially reverenced
by the Gauls : the Bards, the Vates, and the Druids. The Bards
composed and chanted hymns ; the Vates occupied themselves with
the sacrifices, divination, and the study of nature ; while the
Druids, added to this last the study of moral philosophy, and were
so highly honoured for their sense of justice that all disputes were
referred to them. All three classes believed in the indestructibility

of the soul and of the world. Whether the doctrine of transmigration was adopted by the Druids from contact with the Grecian culture of Massilia, or it was of native invention, like that of the Brahmans, is a disputed point, but that it was not the ordinary Gaulish belief in future life is, as already said, quite certain. The archæological remains—cromlechs and stone circles—supposed to have been Druidic temples, can never be proved to have been connected with the Druids, and besides the Celts were in a more advanced stage of culture than to use rude stone circles for worship ; they were in their iron age and used metal tools. In the middle ages Ireland had three classes of men that were distant echoes of the ancient system : these were the Bards, who chronicled, sang, and transmitted events ; the File, or philosophers, soothsayers, and magicians, the latter being generally called Druids ; and lastly, the Brehons, or judges, who sometimes are placed in the class of the File. But the Irish Druids were mere magicians, and nothing more ; the File, however, were highly respected, much more so than the Bards.

Having thus gained a fair idea of what the Gaulish religion must have been, we are in a position to attack the problem of old Gaelic religion as presented to us in the mythical history and heroic tales of Christian times. Irish mythic tales and history are our almost only guides, for Scotland has to a great extent lost its ancient heritage of myth, because the people have been less literary. Ireland possesses MSS. some eight hundred years old, full of valuable mythology ; while our oldest—the Dean of Lismore's—is much less than half that antiquity. Irish epic literature divides itself into three leading cycles—the mythological cycle, the Cuchulainn cycle, and the Ossianic cycle. The first cycle deals with the early history of Ireland down to about the beginning of the Christian era ; it begins with the " first taking " of Ireland by Cæsair and her attendants forty days *before* the Flood, and gives a fairly detailed history right onward to Christian times. In the grave narratives of the " Four Masters " and of Keating, these events are recorded with all the seriousness of real history. The old Irish deities, Titans, and giants are consigned to history as so many invaders and colonisers of Ireland. The Firbolg, the earth powers most probably, are harassed by the sea powers, the giant Fomorian race ; while the Tuatha-de-Danann overcome them both, and assert themselves clearly as the Gaelic gods. The chief figures of the Tuatha-De are—the Dagda Mor (" great good one "), the Gaelic Jove ; Manannan, son of Lir, who appears to be the Gaelic Mercury ; Luga of the Long Arms, un-

doubtedly the Apollo of the Gaels ; the war-goddesses Badb, Morri- gan and Macha ; Brigit, the fire-goddess and saint of Christian times ; Angus Mac-ind-oc, the Gaelic Eros, god of love, and patron of Diarmat and Grainne ; these and other minor deities are set down as kings and chiefs, working wonderful deeds of magic and sorcery, such that Keating says that hence they " were called gods."

There is a long break between the god-cycle and the hero- cycles of Cuchulainn and Ossian, filled up in the histories with meagre details, but full genealogies of intermediate kings. A wonderful list it is ! Are they shadows conjured from the fervid imaginations of the bards to fill up the gaps ? Most of them un- doubtedly are, but others doubtless lived in legend and myth, duly handed on by the Senachaidhs and Bards. The Cuchulainn epoch is set down in the Irish history as occurring at the com- mencement of the Christian era. The central figure is the hero Cuchulainn himself, a Hercules and an Apollo combined, being, indeed, son of the god Luga, as one tale has it, and possessing the far-darting and sunlike attributes of his sire. Cuchulainn is, therefore, a demi-god of the Hercules type ; Finn and his heroes are later, and partake rather of the Achilles and Trojan type. Both classes of heroes are but the reflections of the higher god- powers, the incarnations of the national deities in national heroes. The Finn epoch is represented in Irish and Scotch mythic history as occurring three hundred years later than the Cuchulainn cycle, and the heaviest charge against Macpherson is that he mixed up these two cycles together irretrievably, thus clearly showing signs in his " Fingal" of wholesale manufacture, though many parts of that " Epic" are ancient. The heroes of the Cuchulainn and Ossanic cycles are too well known to require description ; I only here indicate their mythical character. They cannot be tied down to history ; the most popular incidents are wholly of an unhistori- cal character ; enchantments, fairy scenes and chases, gigantic heroes that over-stride firths and valleys—such are the character- istics of nine-tenths of the tales. The historical part is poor and non-popular. The only historical incident recognised, and that, too, doubtfully, by the popular imagination is the battle of Gaura, where the Feni were overthrown ; and that battle, *if historical*, was fought not by the Finn and Oscar of popular tradition, but by some of the numerous chiefs and kinglets bearing the names of these mythic heroes.

These, then, are the leading features of Gaelic Mythology. The Irish hero tales can be equated with those of the Britonic

Arthur and his knights as equally mythical and unhistorical. A very rich epic, or rather ballad literature, has clustered round Arthur, Finn, and Cuchulainn; the first is made famous in the verse of Tennyson, founding closely on the older and popular myths; the second has given rise to one of the most remarkable literary contests on record, that over the works of Macpherson and his "Ossian"—a really good work, independent of the question of authenticity. The Cuchulainn cycle is still more remarkable, but much less known; the "Tain-Bo-Chuailgne" contains in it an epic that could completely dwarf any of the rest; but, unfortunately, no complete edition of this remarkable tale, or mass of tales, has yet seen the light. From all these we can form an idea of the Homeric simplicity and grandeur, and the Celtic originality, of our epical literature.

The subject of Celtic folk-lore, with its wealth of tales, customs, and superstitions of quite a characteristic sort, has been glanced at already in its mythical aspect—its folk-tales. Into the wider question of customs and superstitions, it is not necessary, in a paper on the Study of Celtic Mythology, to enter. The field is a rich one, and not beset with the difficulties that surround the purely religious and god-portion of Celtic Mythology, into which I have consequently entered here with all the fulness that the limits of such a paper as this could allow.

POPULAR TALES.

The first characteristic of folk-tale is its frank disregard of the ordinary conditions of our existence, and its equally frank belief in the human kinship of the whole world—animate and inanimate. The hero, in his seven-league boots, or on his wind-outstripping steed, annihilates space and time with almost electric speed, and sea and land are the same to him ; for his boots and his steed can carry him with equal ease over both—nay, his powers of jumping fiery or prickly hedges, or of springing from his spear point to the window of his fair one high aloft in the towers, show scant respect to the law of gravitation. Animals have a human reason, and often a power of speech ; indeed, they appear in the tales as far more intelligent and knowing than the heroes, for it is generally by their means they perform, or are kept from performing, those wonderful tasks they have been called upon to accomplish. Dogs, birds, frogs, and all animals speak on occasions ; and more than this, they may marry the heroes or the heroines ! Not only are animals humanised, or made to act like human beings, but all nature besides, plants and trees, stocks and stones, mountain and fell, wind and rain and sky, the sun and the moon—all are alive with the life and spirit we see in man and beast. A piece of apple or a human spittle answers to enquiries put. The stones of the earth tell Luga of the Long Arms that his father is buried beneath where they are. " Here thy father lies, O Luga ; grievous was Kian's strait when he was forced to take the shape of a pig on seeing the three sons of Turenn." And as here, men may turn themselves, or be turned, into animals ; and more than that, they may even be turned into plant, tree, stone, or any inanimate object, and still retain reason and power of self-recovery, or of being recovered by others. A hero or heroine may become an animal, beast or bird or fish or insect ; he or she may become a ship or a sword or a ladder, as the exigencies of the occasion may demand. People's hearts and people's strength may lie in some object or other, either about their own person, or well hidden

somewhere else. Giants may have no heart in their body ; a
hero's strength may be, Samson-like, in his hair, or his prowess
may depend on an old knapsack, a hat, and a horn. The life of
this earth is not differentiated from the life beyond. Heroes pay
flying visits to the realms of the departed ; nay, a tailor, neither
good nor honest, may accidentally squeeze himself into heaven, and
sitting on the best chair he saw there—the Throne of the most
High, for the occupant happened to be away—he may see an old
woman washing clothes down on earth at a stream, and secretly
stealing handkerchiefs, and he may throw the footstool at her head
in his virtuous wrath. Social life in these tales takes peculiar
features. We have kings and queens and princes as our
commonest acquaintances ; gorgeous palaces, with surfeit of
gold and silver, are our usual places of rest and abode. Families
have a habit of going in threes, the youngest of whom is the best ;
step-mothers are nearly always wicked, and always witches ; step-
children are always ill-treated. Husbands and wives get separated
over the infringement of some command, or the unwitting breaking
of some mystic rule. In the Gaelic tale of the Hoodie, the
husband, who had already been a hoodie and had been rescued by
the bride from this form, asks her, as they proceed in a coach to
one of their country houses, whether she had fogotten anything,
and she said, "I forgot my coarse comb." "The coach in which
they were fell a withered faggot, and he went away as a hoodie."
Such are the leading characteristics of the popular or folk-tales.
There is pervading all over their world a supernatural power which
manifests itself in magic and enchantments, and no higher power
is known ; and to this power of magic, embodied in the medicine-
man of modern savage life, and in the wicked and in the wise ones
of the folk-tales, all else must bow and yield.

Many interesting problems spring up in connection with these
folk-tales, and the very first is, "What is the origin and meaning
of them ?" And when we find that similar tales—the same in plot,
and practically the same in incidents and characters—exist among
all the nations of Europe and parts of Asia, some even being found
still more widely distributed, appearing in savage lands, it becomes
a question of first importance how these tales were diffused
through so many peoples. Did they start up independently in
the different countries, or were they directly borrowed by one
people from another, or did they filter slowly through the nations,
starting each from some one place ? And, when we have considered
these questions, the relationship of these tales to the mythology,
religion, and folk-lore of a people comes forward for settlement.
Were the folk-tales—or rather, the predecessors of our modern folk-
tales—were they developed into myths at times, and did they thus
become mythology, or did mythology break down and become
popular tales, or did both processes take place? These last
questions, as can be seen, are intimately connected with the first
question we have to ask, and answer if possible, viz., "What is the
origin of these tales ?"

To answer these questions, as far as they can be answered in our present state of knowledge, we must adopt the methods of science, and first begin with a classification of our materials. And, first, let us fix the place of the folk-tale itself among its kindred tales of mythology and imagination. By mythology we mean the belief in a supernatural order, which real knowledge causes us to regard as non-existent. Myths propose unscientific—that is, forged or invented—answers to such questions as the origin of man, the origin of the world, of the stars, the sun, and the moon. How was fire discovered? What was the origin of death? These are some of its questions. Mythology is, therefore, founded on the same impulse and necessity as our science; it attempts to explain man and his surroundings. It is, therefore, essentially explanatory; it gives a working hypothesis of phenomena around and beyond. The folk-tale is not explanatory—it is literary. Mythology and religion are practical, but the folk-tale is artistic. It may point a moral, or convey warnings as to taboo, but it is essentially a tale Fables and tales in regard to beasts or natural objects that immediately and obviously arise from the habits and characteristics of these, do not belong properly to our subject. Beast fables, with all stories that are intended to convey a moral, or explain a natural fact, must now be excluded from our investigation. The origin of these is easily understood, and they may arise naturally in any country or clime. The cunning of the fox is everywhere, and, practically, the same answer is given to the question, Why the bear or hyæna has a stumpy tail? by dwellers in the torrid and the arctic zones. Æsop's fables are familiar as examples of the moral beast-tales; and our experience can bring up many tales started to explain a place name, or other etymological puzzle. But in the pure folk-tale there is not evident either myth or explanation. A doggie asks, for service rendered, successively three farmer's daughters to marry him; the two eldest refuse, but the youngest accepts him, and, on being married, he becomes a splendid man. Three children are born and spirited away on the night of their birth. The mother confesses on the third occasion that the husband stole them, and then he left her. She pursued him, and, after much trial, reached the town where he was and of which his father was king. Here she found that he was going to marry the Daughter of the King of the Skies. By means of a shears and a needle that could work of themselves, she causes such stir that she is invited to the palace, and soon manages to recall herself to her husband's mind. That is the outline of a common tale—the Cupid and Psyche root. The distinction is great between it and a nature myth. We may instance such a myth as that of the Tongan islanders, who say that the god Tangaola one day went to fish in the sea, and, feeling something heavy at the end of his line, he drew it up, and there perceived the top of rocks, which continued to increase in size and number till they formed a large continent,

but the line broke, and only the Tongan islands remained above the surface. But this Tongan myth is rude compared to the mythic ideas involved in the history and actions of the higher gods of Greece and Scandinavia—as, for instance, the sky god Zeus and the weather god Thor, each with his bolt or his hammer representing the lightning. We have, therefore, at least three classes of tales, which we must distinguish from folk-tales proper :—

Mythologic tales.
Tales with morals.
Tales explanatory of the characteristics of beasts or of natural objects.

The further classification of the folk-tales themselves is also a necessity, for it will be at once observed that these tales consist of merely "different arrangements of a rather limited set of incidents," and that their classification and reduction to a few leading roots are possible. Von Hahn, over twenty years ago, led the way in this very desirable and scientific process of classifying the tales. His classification is elaborate, and, indeed, exhaustive. He has forty formulæ, as he calls them—that is, forty leading forms of tales ; but the real roots are much fewer than that. Indeed, the root incidents can almost all be counted by a score. Von Hahn's classification, along with two others, will be found at the end of this paper.

Mythic tales and folk-tales have been, till lately, mixed together, and whatever explanation was given of the one was held sufficient for the other. Mythology was considered by some a broken-down remembrance of early revealed religion. Others thought that myths were tales founded on real historic events. Jupiter, the god, was once an earthly king, they held ; the water-horses and monsters of folk-lore were dim recollections of the monster animals of primeval times. Others, again, held that the tales, apart from the myths, were intended to convey moral truth —"to point a moral and adorn a tale." Myths, also on this theory, were practically allegories. These are three theories that held sway for a long time ; but the discoveries made during this century in philology, and the consequent extended kinship it showed between European nations and Eastern nations, had soon an effect on mythology and folk-lore. Not merely was there seen to be a group of languages allied, to which the name Indo-European or Aryan could be applied, but it was observed that their mythologies had also a general resemblance the one to the other. Grimm saw this, and proceeded to examine the matter. He practically started the solar theory of mythology—a theory taken up and illustrated in 1856 by Mr Max Müller, and energetically, enthusiastically, and minutely worked out some years later by Sir George, then Mr. Cox. His work, " The Mythology of the Aryan Nations," was in its way an epoch-making book. The theory is as follows.

The same myths and folk-tales, practically, are found from India to the west of Ireland, and the reason for this is that these nations, as they are linguistically descended from one parent language, so also are their mythologies descended from one parent mythology. The Sanscrit is the oldest Indo-European language— that is, the nearest to the parent tongue ; so also is the mythology it contains nearest the parent mythology. That mythology was a literary embodiment of the worship of nature. Anthropomorphic polytheism was its form, and the chief deities were the powers of sky, light, and air. The sun-god was the chief personage in the myths. Every mythological name has been analysed, and in the analysis, rightly or wrongly, some atmospheric or solar reference has been found. Mr Max Müller and Sir G. Cox appear to slightly diverge as to the origin of metaphor ; Mr Müller is satisfied that metaphor is natural to man in his early stage ; he " lisped in metaphors, for the metaphors came." When man called the dawn a maiden, he knew that was metaphoric and poetic. Sir G. Cox, on the other hand, thinks that man believed nature really to be alive and animate like himself when he said so, and hence it was no metaphor originally. But, as man advanced from this childish stage, he recognised the absurdity of attributing life to sun and moon and clouds and dawn, and, therefore, he divorced, unconsciously and in the course of time, the personal elements and the stories thereto attached from the material objects that were explained by anthropomorphic or spirit agency. Hence Zeus, which means sky or shining one, and the sky were no longer one, but two. The one meant the sky in its unpoetical and non-meta- phoric form ; the other was the old sky-power divorced from the sky, and made into a personal being with a life history. That life history was got from the old facts of his previous connection with the sky, which were applied to him in that earlier stage, metaphorically and poetically (according to Max Müller), or as a real matter of belief (according to Cox). In any case, the divorcement was caused by forgetfulness, on the part of succeeding generations, of the point of view from which their ancestors looked on these powers of air and sky, and from the consequent misconception of the metaphors formerly employed, which were in the later period transferred to the individual, or spirit apart from the object. Apollo was thus divorced from the material sun ; but the life of Apollo was composed from the old metaphoric or personal material which was applied to the sun at the earlier stage. Oblivion or forgetfulness of the more primitive use of epithets, or of the spirit explanations, is here relied on ; but the richness of mythological incident requires more than this. Many names would be, metaphorically, applied to the sun, and many epithets—names of animals and epithets widely varying. This is *polyonymy.* These names would also apply to other objects as well ; and hence, besides forgetfulness, some considerable confusion and mixing of incidents would arise from polyonymy and homonymy—in fact,

the theory of *polyonymy* and *homonymy* is elastic enough for any-
thing. Mr Max Müller thus describes how a myth or tale might
arise on his theory:—" But suppose that the exact meaning
of the word ' gloaming' had been forgotten, and that a
proverbial expression, such as ' The gloaming sings the sun
to sleep,' had been preserved, would not the gloaming very
soon require an explanation, and would nurses long hesitate
to tell their children that the gloaming was a good old
woman who came every night to put the sun into his bed, and
who would be very angry if she found any little children still
awake ? The children would soon talk among themselves about
Nurse Gloaming, and, as they grew up, would tell their children
again of the same wonderful old nurse. It was in this and in
similar ways that in the childhood of the world many a story
grew up which, when once repeated and sanctioned by a popular
poet, became part and parcel of what we are accustomed to call
the mythology of ancient nations."

Let us now take an actual example of the use of this theory in
explanation of a well-known myth, which is also a well-known
incident in the folk-tales. Phrixos and Hellé were the children of
Athamas by Nephelé. Nephelé disappears, and Athamas marries
Ino, who acts as stepmother to Phrixos and Hellé with the usual
result. Nephelé, who is immortal, helps her children to escape,
and they ride away through the air on a ram with a golden fleece.
Poor Hellé fell from off the ram as they were crossing the Helles-
pont, which was called after her name on that account. Phrixos
arrived in safety at Colchis, on the eastern shores of the Black Sea,
where Æetes ruled as king. Phrixos then sacrificed the ram, and
gave the fleece to Æetes, who placed it on an oak tree in the grove
of Ares. That is the myth or tale ; and it must be said that, on
the face of it, it presents some points favourable to explanation by
this theory. Nephelé means cloud : on the linguistic-forgetful-of-
metaphor theory, that is easy ; Nephelé, originally, really is the
cloud, and not a person. Athamas is Semitic (so Sir G. Cox says),
being a form of Tammuz, the sun-god. The cloud and the sun,
therefore, have two children—Phrixos and Hellé ; what should
they be ? Phrixos is the cold, clear air (Sir G. Cox says), and
Hellé is the air as warmed by the fostering heat of the sun.
[Parenthetically, it may be remarked that Phrixos means, and is
allied philologically to, " bristling ;" Hellé is not so easily settled
as to derivation]. Nephelé dies or departs ; Athamas marries Ino,
the open and glaring day, for she is called Ino Leukothea. The
open and glaring day hates and drives forth the cold air and the
warm air, and these fly away on a ram with a golden fleece—that
is to say, on the sunlit cloud ; the taking away, or going away
with the golden fleece is the carrying away of the sunlit clouds of
evening from the regions of the gloaming to those of the dawn,
where they are left to be brought back again by the sun—that is,
by Jason. The whole natural history of the myth, then, is this.

The sun and the cloud have two children—cold air and warm air. The cloud goes aloft. The open and glaring day ill-treats and casts forth cold air and warm, and they run away upon the back of the evening sunlit cloud, but warm air falls off, and cold air arrives in the east with sunlit cloud alone, and then sacrifices or kills it. It is very pretty, very ingenious, and very untrue to nature, and to the science of meteorology as well as to history. The whole "solar theory" is of this same type, at least when applied to folk-tales—pretty, ingenious, untrue. The sun pursues the dawn, and overtakes her at even; that explains the story of the ever-fleeing maiden pursued, and finally overtaken, by the lover. That maid is Daphne, Prokris, Cinderella, and the other nameless and numberless ladies who fly, leaving slippers or other tokens behind them. The sun-god is the hero of every tale, be the hero animal or man. This theory makes the folk-tales merely the detritus, as Max Müller says, of mythology, and practically the detritus of solar mythology. The theory has made the greatest shipwreck over the enchantments and spells under which heroes appear in these folk-tales. In a Gaelic tale the hero comes on the scene at first as a hoodie or a doggie ; among other nations he may be a bear, or, as in Germany, a frog, and hence the story-name "frog-prince." In Sanscrit, too, there is a similar story of a beautiful girl that was a frog, *Bheki*, sitting at a well. A king asked her to be his wife, and she consented on condition that he should never show her a drop of water. One day, being tired, she asked the king for water ; he forget his promise, brought water, and Bheki disappeared. Now, here is a poser for the solar mythologists. But, like the Scotch theologian, he looks the difficulty boldly in the face, and passes on. This is what Mr Max Müller says of it :—
" The story of Bheki must have grown up gradually, beginning with a short saying about the sun—such as that *Bheki*, the sun, will die at the sight of water, as we should say, that the sun will set when it approaches the water from which it rose in the morn-ing. Thus, viewed as a woman, the sun-frog might be changed into a woman, and married to a king ; viewed as a man, he might be married to a princess. In either case, stories would naturally arise to explain, more or less fully, all that seemed strange in these marriages between frog and man, and the change from sun to frog, and from frog to man, which was at first due to the mere spell of language, would, in our nursery tales, be ascribed to miraculous charms more familiar to a later age." And such, according to Max Müller, is the origin of these beast heroes and heroines, and the consequent theory of enchantment. The whole world of enchantment is based on forgotten metaphors. Such a mass of "might, could, would, should, or must," as the above passage presents, could hardly be met with in any writer outside a solar mythologist. " The sun must have been called Bheki." Why *must* it ? But was it ? It was not ; the idea is absurd. Hence we cannot for a moment believe that these beast forms arose from

forgotten metaphors ; nor could forgotten metaphors explain how
savages still believe in such stories, and the possibility of such
transformations, such marriages, and consequent incidents.

The fact is, the theory is utterly unscientific. It proceeds
quite on the wrong lines. It never asks whether modern savages,
or men in a similar stage of culture with the early Aryans and our
early ancestors, ever think, act, and speak as these Aryans must
have done if this theory is true. The poetic power it ascribes to
savages is simply non-existent. The intense solicitude with which
primitive man watched the sun, the dawn, the cloud, the rain, and
the dew, and the way he described their trials, loves, and sorrows
have no counter-part in modern savage life, nor did they ever have
in ancient savage life. The savage and barbarous man is too busy
with his own love-affairs to attend much to the scorching love of
the sun for the dew. There is such a blank monotony about the sun
turning up under all sorts of mythological disguises as chief hero
that we thoroughly sympathise with Mr Lang when he com-
plains of him as that "eternal lay-figure." No historical
hero, no custom, no belief is out of danger until the sun-
hero receives his quietus. In addition to the fact that the "solar"
theory is inadequate to cope with the difficulties of the folk-tales
—and, indeed, with the details of the higher mythology—there is
another objection. Mr Max Müller reduces mostly all myths and
tales to solar origin ; other theorists hold that atmospheric
phenomena play the heaviest part, such as storms and lightning.
For instance, M. Decharme makes Phrixos "the demon of
thunder," and Hellé "a goddess of lightning." These scientists do
not agree among themselves, not merely on the main lines and
details of folk-tale explanations, but they differ often widely in the
interpretation of the higher mythology. And one sympathises
strongly with Mr Lang's remark that there "is an improbable
monotony in the theory which resolves most of old romance into a
series of remarks about the weather." We must, however, admit
that, in the higher reaches of mythology, Aryan myth is a
personification of the phenomena and conceptions of nature, and
that the orbs of heaven, the sky, day and night, the clouds, and
the lightning are the foundation and the most important part of
the whole fabric. Nor need we deny that some folk-tales are the
detritus of the old mythology, although we have to maintain, on
the other hand, that myths are often sublimated folk-tales, as Mr
Lang has so well proved in the case of the Jason myth.

So much for the " solar-myth" theory of explaining the origin
of folk-tales. The same theorists hold that the diffusion of the
tales throughout Indo-European peoples points, as the similarity
of language does, to a common origin also of mythology. There
are some difficulties, however, which this theory does not recognise.
First, some of the most characteristic folk-tales have been found
among savages and other non-Aryan peoples. Not merely have
single incidents been found, for *that* is quite common, but often

several incidents are connected in exactly a similar way among
savage tribes, the same beginning, middle, and *denouement* of plot
appearing. The tale in Campbell's collection, "The Battle of the
Birds," of which there is an Irish variant, and also other Gaelic
versions, the fullest being Mrs Mackellar's version in a late number
of the *Celtic Magazine*, entitled the "Bodach Glas," finds its next
closest parallel in a negro story from Jamaica, and hence is an
African story, for the scene is in Africa. The incident of the
bathing of three sisters, and the hero's capture of the youngest,
who helps him against her father, appears in the African as in the
Gaelic tale; the tasks are replaced by the hero being asked to
discover which is the youngest daughter, and this he does, guessing
her correctly, by her own help, under three disguises, two of them
animal; then the couple fly, pursued by the father. The lady
throws behind her a rose, a pebble, and a phial of water, which
produced respectively a broad wood, a range of rocky mountains,
and a rushing river, which carried away the father, horse and all.
This extraordinary coincidence makes the problem of the diffusion
of folk-tales a very difficult one indeed, for it is not easy to believe
that the negroes who recited the stories to "Monk" Lewis as
Ananci African stories could have learnt them from Scotch or
Irish settlers in Jamaica. The stories are redolent of African life.
The incident where the heroine hides in a tree above a well, with
the consequence that two other women who successively come to
the well and see her face there, and, fancying it is their own, think
themselves too handsome for anything, appears in a Madagascar
story, as also does in the same story the throwing behind of
objects which develop into obstructions to the pursuit by the giant
or ogre. The heroine Ifara here throws behind her a broom, an
egg, a cane, and a pebble, which respectively became a dense
thicket, a lake, a dense forest, and an inaccessible precipice.
Secondly, as an objection to this theory of Aryan diffusion, there
can be no doubt that neighbouring Aryan nations have their folk-
tales more like each other than these tales are to those of Aryan
nations farther away. Teutonic and Celtic fairy tales are more
like each other than either are to those of Aryan nations in Asia.
But the linguistic theorist might reply that so, too, are their
languages and manners and customs. Yet, there is just a sus-
picion of the one influencing the other, though perhaps nothing
more. In any case, the problem of the diffusion of the tales has
not yet been solved.

Some theorists, like Mr Ralston and Mr Clouston, maintain
that these tales are borrowed from the East, and they look to
India as the source of them. On the face of it, such a view does
not commend itself to a scientific enquirer. That some tales have
been borrowed from the East is true. Several were introduced by
the translators of eastern tales in the 12th century and onwards.
But we can recognise these with no great difficulty, especially
among Gaelic tales, for they want the peculiarities of Gaelic

imagination and the local colouring of our country. When we find a company on a green-coloured hillock, and a shadow of a shower comes from the western airt going to the eastern airt, and a rider on a black filly comes out of the shower; when we meet with Fionn and his men on Beinn Eidinn, "on a hillock behind the wind and in front of the sun, where they could see every person and nobody could see them;" when we speed along with a steed that would catch the swift March wind that was before him, and the swift March wind that was behind him could not catch him; when the hunter on the hunting hill gets suddenly enveloped in a Druidic mist, and is swept away; when men so enchanted lose and regain limbs with no apparent discomfort; when we find richness of description and descriptive epithets; when we meet with piled up minutiæ in alliterative order; and when, in short, we find the language, the sense and the imaginative power all com-bine into a harmonious and highly artistic effect, we may be sure that here we have a genuine Gaelic tale. On the other hand, tales of adventure, tales of cunning heroes and crafty rogues, fables about beasts, and stories that carry a moral, may not be native at all; but if the smack of Gaelic imagination is felt in them, that is an almost infallible sign of native origin.

And why, it may be asked, should India, or even Asia, be the cradle of such stories? The assumption is unscientific; it will not do to say that the stories are too imaginative for our temperate climate, where fancy is more restrained by the rude battle with the realities of natural forces. Our ancestors all along must have had stories and tales at all stages—savage, barbaric, and civilised; that is capable of proof, for savages everywhere delight in such *now*. The words of M. Gaidoz, one of the best of Conti-nental folk-lorists, can best express our argument. He says:— " For us, however, who believe in the polygenism of tales, the question is badly put when the origin of tales in the mass is spoken of, and when it is wished to attribute them to one people or to one epoch. This appears to us as little scientific as if one claimed to determine a country of origin for the flora of France. Such and such a plant comes from Persia, says one; then our flora comes from Persia. By a like process, another would make it come from China or America; and other theorists, arguing from the fact that the French came from the high *plateaux* of Asia, could also well say that they carried their plants with them from the same region. In short, our flora, like every other, is composed of indigenous plants, and exotic plants come from different parts of the world, and become native by acclimatisation. What must be got is the history of each species by itself, and then it is possible to give an account of the history and the course of migration. What has been done for the flora has to be done for the tales : to study separately each tale, each incident even, to try and determine its affiliation, and, if possible, its place of origin." So says M. Gaidoz. Besides, the stories which Mr Clouston and

others give as Indian originals, are too often either wide of the mark or are sorry stuff to build the beauteous superstructure of western story upon.

The likeness of Aryan folk-tales to each other is greater undoubtedly than their likeness to tales among savages, and this likeness is greater in proportion as the races live beside each other. The same is true also of their languages. This points to the common origin of Aryan folk-tales in the original Aryan times. Yet, it is hard to believe that these tales were elaborated then and kept up in their entirety for three or four thousand years or more. Grimm's tales and Campbell's tales often present the same story with the same series of incidents similarly combined. The Cinderella story, for example, is widely diffused, and everywhere presents the same plot and much the same incidents. It is hard to decide the matter, for the difficulty is twofold; first, Could folk-tales preserve intact plot and incidents for three, four, or five thousand years? and secondly, How are we to regard the similar tales that appear in Africa and Asia among non-Aryan tribes? These questions have not yet been satisfactorily answered.

If we dismiss the solar theory of the origin of these tales, if we refuse to consider them, on the whole, the detritus of the old mythology, what, then, is their origin? That question again is not easy. It is easy enough to overthrow a theory such as the solar one : to establish another is a different matter. The solar theory professed two things in regard to the tales. It professed to account for the incidents, and also for the plot of the tale ; and, secondly, it accounted for the irrational element in the tales—the enchantments and the human character of beast and bird and tree and stone. The plot arose from the incidents in the career of the personified sun or moon ; and the irrational element arose from the descendants misunderstanding or forgetting the metaphors and poetic language of their ancestors. If the sun was playfully called a frog as he squatted on the verge of the western sea, then an unpoetic posterity at once fancied the sun-hero was a frog-man—one time a frog and another a man—and accounted for it by magic. We saw how futile, how absurd and unscientific indeed, such a theory is. We can account for the irrational element in these tales with the utmost ease ; for, as a matter of fact, there is scarcely an irrational idea contained in them but finds its counterpart in some savage belief or practice of modern times. Belief in the kinship with animals, and hence the possibility of marriage with them ; belief in the metamorphosis of living or dead persons into animals ; the idea that inanimate objects have spirits in them and may speak ; the notion that one's soul can leave the body and have a life apart—a belief not yet dead in the Highlands, as the idea of the bee-soul proves ; and the belief in the possibility of visiting the lower world—all these beliefs are rampant in the modern savage life. Again, the practices and customs which appear in the tales as so strange are perfectly well known amongst

barbarians and savages. Cannibalism, human sacrifice, the queer
etiquette of marriage life going to the extremest of prudery, as
when it is tabooed to a woman ever to see her husband naked, or
when the husband visits the wife only by stealth or at night, or
when the wife never speaks to him for a long period after marriage
or never mentions his name ; the custom in polygamous families
that the youngest son is the heir and the head of the family—
these and several others, such as bride-winning or bride-capture,
which appear in the tales, are still in practice among savage
tribes. The irrational element in the tales is therefore easily
accounted for.

But when we come to the actual construction of the tale—the
plot with its incidents—it is not so easy to account for matters. Such
tales as regard the wicked step-mother who ill-treats her step-
children and favours her own, ultimately driving away or ruining
the former, are easily enough accounted for. So, too, is the flight
of children from cannibalism or from human sacrifice. The flight
of a lady and her lover from a giant or wizard father is also easy,
for it belongs to bride-winning and bride-capture ; but the incident
is always complicated by the details of the pursuit, in which
barriers of wood, rock, and lake are successively placed by
symbolic incantations between the couple and the pursuer. These
incidents, with the magic power displayed, are all natural to
savage life. Flight implies pursuit in such a case, and the barriers
would naturally suggest themselves to people living in a world full
of belief in magic. The bride is purchased or captured in barbaric
and savage life ; but, naturally enough, the price may be changed
into the accomplishment of some difficult tasks, the solving of a
riddle, or the conquering of the girl or her father in a race. The
number three is nearly always the proper number, and it is hard to
say why. The youngest brother is naturally the best, because in
polygamous families he is the heir and head of the family. The
gratitude of the animals which the hero assists is seen in their
assisting him in turn, and this, no doubt, points a moral, and
this may have originally started some tales, teaching, as it does,
kindness to animals. The giant who has no heart in his body, because
he is afraid he may himself lose it, is wheedled by the woman to
tell, after three trials, where it is ; once the idea of a heartless
giant is given, the story would here naturally follow. These
giants have no wits, and hence the hero easily tricks them. The
monster that requires a human being each year or oftener belongs
to the lowest category of savage local gods who delight in human
sacrifice. That a hero—a culture hero—should arise to release
people from such an incubus in their worship must have been
often an actual fact.

Other tales depend on the idea of taboo or prohibition. The
bride must not see the husband undressed. The breaking of such
taboos causes the husband to leave her, and she has to win him
back. This appears often in the tales. In the tale of Cupid and

Psyche it is fully brought out. Psyche lighted a lamp and saw
the god, which she was strictly forbidden to do, and he disappeared.
In other cases, the wife mentions some fact in her husband's
presence which she ought not to do, as in the Highland tale of the
Hoodie, when she told him she forgot her *coarse comb* ; or she con-
fesses that her husband stole the children, and he leaves her, as in
the Gaelic tale, The Daughter of the King of the Skies. The
husband may leave the wife and stay away many years, as in the
case of Ulysses, where she remains faithful throughout.

These tales illustrate customs and enforce taboos, as we see ;
they tell of a practice, and they point a moral. Hence, they are
both artistic and useful. But we must not dwell too much on the
idea that their object is merely didactic or moral, and not also
artistic and for amusement. Morals they do point, as in the Blue-
beard story, which warns against curiosity in forbidden things, and
rather savage morals, too, for the youngest sister in that story
acts with as much curiosity as the other two, but she has, by her
kindness, enlisted in her service some being who helps her out of
her difficulties. Similarly there are many tales which pourtray
with admiration cunning and cleverness of all kinds, generally
immoral cleverness.

There are incidents, however, which at present we cannot
explain. The bride is often supplanted by her maid, who palms
herself off as the mistress, and is married to the hero ; but all ends
well latterly. Again, why does the husband forget his first wife
when he leaves her, and is kissed on reaching home by his mother
or his hound? And then she hides in a tree, and her reflection in
the spring causes two other women to think themselves pretty.
Such incidents, as Mr Lang says, are among the real difficulties of
the subject. Nor again can we easily explain the tissue of plot in
each story, though we can explain single incidents. Why should
the hero appear as a hoodie first, and on marriage become a man,
and thereafter leave his wife ? The hero under spells is here con-
nected with the taboo incident. That is not the case in the Cupid and
Psyche form of it, for the hero there is a god throughout. The
Cinderella story is very difficult to explain in its entirety. But in
discussing these tales, we should remember their undoubted
antiquity ; their incidents are survivals among us, according to our
theory, of savage thought—survivals of a time when our ancestors
had beliefs and practices akin to the savages of our own time.
That the incidents should intermingle with each other, producing
other forms of tales, elaborate and complicated, in the long lapse
of ages past, is but what we should expect. It is difficult for us
to trace the kaleidoscopic changes that took place in these incidents
and these tales in the far distant past,

    " In the fathomless years forgotten whereover the dead
      gods reign."

Of the classifications which follow, Von Hahn's, as condensed by Mr Ralston, is the first. Von Hahn's classification is founded upon no theory; but the second classification is based upon the anthropological theory of explanation. It is founded largely on Mr Lang's headings in his article on "Mythology" in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. The savage customs and ideas which correspond to those which appear in the tales are, as far as possible, given under each head. It differs from Von Hahn in taking, not the whole story or incident but the single facts, and classifying them. The third classification is that employed by Mr Nutt in classifying Campbell's Highland tales. The "husk" refers to the disguisal of the hero or heroine under animal form or under servile guise, and the "taboo" refers to the breaking of some mystic command as doing something contrary "to the custom of women." The numbers after the headings in Mr Nutt's table, such as 43, 14, 4, &c., refer to the number of each tale in Mr Campbell's book that comes under the particular heading, wholly or partially. Campbell's work contains 86 numbered tales, and of these, some 41 only are pure folk tales, along with which may be classified half-a-dozen hero stories of the Fenian and heroic cycles. The rest of the tales comprise two classes—(1) Popular tradition and folk-lore, which make some dozen numbers; and (2) Folk stories, which concern clever thieves, feigned fools, and clever and curious incidents in life. Of these there are about 23. Mr Nutt's table, as published in the *Folk-lore Record*, vol. V., does not contain the references to the numbers in Campbell. They have been kindly sent by Mr Nutt to the writer, who alone is responsible for error in their use. Unclassed are the opening of 38 and the poetry of 74.

VON HAHN'S SCHEME.

[AS CONDENSED BY MR RALSTON].

DIVISION I.—FAMILY.

DIVISION A.—HUSBAND AND WIFE AFFECTED BY

(A) Desertion.
1. Psyche.—Supernatural husband deserts wife.
2. Melusina.—Supernatural wife deserts husband.
3. Penelope.—Faithful wife recovers truant husband.

(B) Expulsion.
4. Calumniated wife banished, but restored.

(C) Sale or Purchase.
5—6. Access to spouse or loved one bought.

SUB-DIVISION B.—PARENT AND CHILD.

(A) Children longed for.
7. They assume for a time monstrous shapes.
8. They are made victims to a vow or promise.
9. Their birth is attended by various wonders.

(B) Exposure of children.
    10. Amphion.—Babe exposed by unmarried mother.
    11. Œdipus.—Babe exposed by married parents.
    12. Danæ.—Mother and babe exposed together.
    13. Andromeda.—Daughter exposed to a monster.
(C) Step-children.
    14. Little Snow White.—Stepmother persecutes girl.
    15. Phrixus and Helle.—Stepmother persecutes a brother and
          sister.
    16. Youngest brother ill-treated by elder brothers.
    17. Cinderella.—Youngest sister ill-treated.
    18. Dioscuri.—Twins help each other.
    19. Sister (or mother) betrays brother (or son).
    20. Sister saves brother from enchantment.
    21. Heroine supplanted by step-sister (or servant).
    22. Magic brothers-in-law assist hero.

DIVISION II.—MISCELLANEOUS.

(A) Bride winning.
    23. Bride won by heroic exploits.
    24. Bride won by ingenuity.
(B) Abduction of Heroine.
    25. Proserpine.—Heroine carried off by force.
    26. Helen and Paris.
    27. Medea and Jason.
(C) Various subjects.
    28. Swan-maidens robbed of garments, and married.
    29. Snake brought herbs restore life.
    30. Bluebeard.—A Forbidden Chamber opened.
    31. Punchkin, or the Giant without any heart.
    32. Grateful Beasts assist hero.
    33. Hop-o'-my-Thumb.—Hero tiny, but brave
    34. A strong fool works wonders.
    35. Faithful John, or Rama and Luxman.
    36. Disguisal of hero or heroine.

DIVISION III.—CONTRAST OF INNER AND OUTER WORLD.

    37. Hero is killed by demon, but revives.
    38. Hero defeats demon.
    39. Hero tricks demon.
    40. Lower world visited.

AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATION.

I. Bride or bridegroom transgresses mystic command, and the
        other disappears.

  [*Savage nuptial etiquette often forbids seeing or naming husband.*]

II. Husband leaves wife, and returns after many years.
      Penelope formula : Gaelic, " The Baker of Beauly."
            [*Admiration for female constancy.*]

III. Attempted avoidance of fate or prophecy.
    1. Parents or friends expose fateful children.
    2. Heroic Expulsion and Return formula.

IV. The Wicked Stepmother and her Step-children.
    [*Cruelty of Stepmother is world-wide and world-old.*]

V. Slaughter of a devastating monster.
    Perseus and Andromeda story.
        [*Belief in monsters is wide-spread.*]

VI. Flight, generally by miraculous aid, from cannibalism, human sacrifice, or incest.
  [*Danger from cannibalism, &c., is often real in Savage life.*]

VII. Bride given to whoever accomplishes difficult adventures.
    [*Reminiscence of Savage capture or purchase of bride.*]

VIII. Flight of a lady and her lover from giant or wizard father.
    [*Bride-winning, and chase for purchase money.*]

IX. The false bride.
    The maid pretends to be the mistress, and degrades the bride to the rank of servant.

X. The bride that brings forth beast-children.
    [*A common Savage belief, not yet lost in Europe.*]

XI. The youngest brother is the successful adventurer.
[*A reminiscence of the Savage and ancient Jüngsten-recht, whereby the youngest son is heir and head of the family.*]

XII. Grateful beasts, aided by hero or heroine, aid him or her in turn.
[*Savages believe animals to be endowed with reason and capable of speech ; especially human beings metamorphosed into animals.*]
    1. The animals are ordinary ones, but act humanly.
    2. The animals are human beings under spells.

XIII. The separable soul or strength.
    The giant that has no heart in his body.
        [*A common Savage idea.*]

XIV. Magic shoes, garments, and implements ; gold-producing and other magic animals.

XV. The strong man, his adventures and comrades, such as Keen-eye, Quick-ear, &c.
    [*Savage admiration of physical powers.*]

XVI. The ogre is blinded by the hero, and deceived by a pun on hero's pretended name.
    Tricking of giants and demons.
[*Stories of witless giant strength are world-wide, as also of circumvented demons.*]

XVII. Disguisal and discovery of hero or heroine.
    Cinderella story.

XVIII. Descent into Hades by the hero.
    [*Savages believe now that journeys can be made there.*]

XIX. The Knight-errant.
    Tales of a hero's adventures by land and sea; such are
    Conall Gulban, Sir Ualabh O'Corn, &c.
    [*Love of stories of adventure common to all races.*]

MR NUTT'S SCHEME IN CLASSIFYING CAMPBELL'S COLLECTION.

I.—*Husk-Taboo Group.*
    1. Cinderella root.   43.
    2. Catskin root.   14.
    3. Goldenlocks root.   4, 9, 16, 32, 44, 58.
    4. Beauty and Beast root.   86 (Female form).
    5. Black Bull o' Norroway (Cupid and Psyche) root.   2,
        3, 12, 44.
    6. Melusina root.   86 (?).
    7. Bluebeard root.   13 (?), 41.

II.—*Husk Group.*
    1. Frog prince root.   33.
    2. Swan maid root.   10, 44.
    3. Seven Swans root.

III.—*Calumniated Wife Group.*
    Genoveva root.   18.

IV.—*Recovered Heroine Group.*
    Gudrun root.   1, 4, 38, 76.

V.—*Abducted Heroine Group.*
    Helen root.   60.

VI.—*Dispossessed Prince Group (Expulsion and Return Formula).*
    Romulus root.   35, 74, 76, 82.

VII.—*Task Group.*
    1. For bride winning.   Brunhilde root.   2, 10, 22, 51,
        58, 61, 76, 80.
    2. For hero winning.   17, 36.
    3. Task imposed by stepmother.   Hercules root.   1, 46,
        84.
    4. Task undergone to avenge injury to superior.   52.

VIII.—*Wisdom-giving Fish or Snake Group.*
    Fionn or Siegfried or Melampus root.   47, 82.

IX.—*Tiny Hero Group.*
    Tom Thumb root.   69.

X.—*Struggle of Man and Monster.*
    1. Hero slain by monster.   23.
    2. Hero overcomes monster.   5, 6, 7, 30, 45 (2), 75.
    3. Hero tricks monster.   37, 42.

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